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1851.

ALIC

THE WAR OF RACES

IN

HUNGARY;

WRITTEN

BY PROFESSOR BOYEN,

AN AMERICAN;

DILIGENTLY REVISED, CORRECTED, AND PUBLISHED

BY

DR. S. MASSOCH,

AN ABORIGINES HUNGARIAN,

WHO, HAVING BEEN A SPECTATOR AND EYE-WITNESS TO ALL THE EVENTS AND FACTS IN HIS NATIVE COUNTRY, GIVES THE MOST EXACT ACCOUNT OF THE POPULATION, AND OF THE SPIRIT IN HUNGARY.

NEW YORK.

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"Alligabant gravia et non ferenda onera, et collo hominum appendebant ea; ipsi autem vel uno digito noluerunt tangere illa."—*Matth.* c. xxiii, v. 4.

"Qua autem mensura mensi fuerunt, eadem remetiebatur illis."—*Mark*, c. iv, v. 24.

"Omnia igitur, quæ vultis, ut homines faciant vobis, vos pariter facite illis; hoc enim fundamento nituntur lex et prophetæ."—*Matth.* c. vii, v. 12.

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THE WAR OF RACES

IN

HUNGARY.

THE WAR OF RACES IN HUNGARY.

Before two years ago, the attention of the civilized world has been directed with lively interest towards the progress of the war in Hungary. The spectacle of a gallant people, fighting against the gigantic powers of Austria and Russia, being strenuously exerted for months in what appeared to be a vain attempt to crush them, was enough to awaken the warmest sympathies of the lovers of freedom all over the globe. The accounts which reached this country from the distant scene of conflict, were various and conflicting, but on the whole so favorable to the cause of the insurgents, that when the news at last arrived of their final and entire discomfiture, it excited as much disappointment as regret. It was evident that the preceding accounts of astonishing victories gained by the Hungarians over vastly superior forces had been grossly exaggerated; even they had been entire fabrications. The theatre of the struggle was near the eastern confines of civilized Europe, and all the intelligence which came to us from that distant region had been filtered through German and French newspapers, and colored by the various hopes and purposes of those who disseminated the reports with the intent of affecting public opinion by them, and of gaining sympathy and aid for one or the other of the contending parties. As we have rejoiced over victories which had never been gained save in the excited imaginations of those who reported them, it is worth while to look a little more closely into the nature and causes of the war, and to ascertain if the motives and aims of the belligerents have not been as much misrepresented as their actions. The Hungarian question is a very simple one—and as the

decision of it is likely to have an important influence upon the politics of Europe for a long period to come, an attempt to render it more intelligible may be useful and interesting even on this side of the Atlantic. We depend for information on Mr. Degerando's book—on a series of excellent articles contributed by E. de Langsdorff—on the Revue de Deux Mondes of Mr. Desprez—on Tableaux des Guerres d'idiome et de nationalite, publiés par Mr. Paul de Bourgoing, Ancien Ministre de France en Russie et en Allemagne, Paris, 1849—and on other most distinguished authorities.

Though the war in Hungary began as early as September, 1848, a Declaration of Independence was not adopted by the Hungarian Diet till the middle of April, 1849. In the intervening months, though much blood was shed and the contest was waged with great exasperation on both sides, it had the aspect of a civil war between different portions of the same empire, the weight of imperial authority being thrown alternately on either side, according as the vicissitudes of the conflict caused the one or the other party to adopt a position which was more favorable to the interests of the empire. Thus, Jellachich and his army were at first denounced as rebels; and after the Sclavonic rebellion in Bohemia had been crushed by the bombardment of Prague, the Austrian marshal Hrabowski commenced a campaign against the favorers of that rebellion in Croatia and Sclavonia also, while the Hungarians, acting on the side of the imperialists, menaced the same countries with invasion from the north. But the Austrian cabinet soon found that Jellachich was less to be dreaded than Kossuth, and that the Sclavonians were disposed to be more loyal subjects than the Magyars. By a sudden shift of policy, therefore, the Croats were taken into favor, and their redoubtable Ban at the head of his army was commissioned by the emperor to put down the insurrection in Hungary. Still the Hungarians did not declare their independence of Austria till the young emperor proclaimed a new and very liberal constitution for all his subjects, of whatever race, language, or province, in March, 1849. In this instrument it was formally declared, that "all tribes have an equality of rights, and each tribe has an inviolable right to *preserve and foster its nationality and language.*" The Hungarians proper, or the Magyars, had no sooner heard these words, than foreseeing how popular they would be with the Sclavonians, the Wallachians, and the Saxons, to whom they secured emancipation from the sovereign sway and masterdom which the Magyars had exercised over them for centuries, than they forthwith declared their own independence of Austria for the sole purpose of retaining these races in their former state of subjection and dependence. The declaration

which they issued, consequently, was not so much a declaration of their own independence, (already amply secured by the concessions of the emperor a year before, concessions which made the connection of Hungary with Austria merely nominal,) as a protest against the independence of Croatia and Sclavonia. Its object was not to justify the rebellion of Hungary against Austria, but to accuse Croatia of rebelling against Hungary, and to criminate the emperor for favoring that rebellion. The Magyars assumed the position, therefore, of a nation striving to impose or to continue the yoke upon the necks of their own dependents, instead of laboring to throw off a yoke from their own shoulders. It suited the haughty and imperious spirit of this aristocratic race to bring this accusation against their hereditary monarch of favoring a set of rebels against their own sovereignty. Their complaint reminds us of the feudal barons chiding their king for emancipating the commons, and thus erecting a barrier against the tyranny of the nobles.

The war in Hungary, then, on the part of the Magyars, was neither a struggle for national independence, nor an attempt to establish a republic on the wreck of their ancient monarchical and aristocratic institutions. Hungary is the most aristocratic nation in Europe; nowhere else are the distinctions and immunities of the nobles so strongly marked, or the nobles themselves so numerous in comparison with the whole population, or the dividing lines between the privileged and unprivileged classes preserved with so much care. The fourth resolution appended to the Declaration of Independence, expressly provides, that "the form of government to be adopted for the future shall be fixed by the Diet of the nation," in both branches of which the representatives of the titled and untitled nobility have a great superiority of numbers, and exercise undisputed control; where, in fact, till within a few years, the third estate, or the commons, were hardly represented at all; and to which, even now, the peasants, who constitute four-fifths of the population, do not send a single representative. The resolution goes on to say, that "until this point shall be decided, *on the basis of the ancient and received principles which have been recognized for ages*, [that is, acknowledging the absolute supremacy of the Magyar race in the country which they conquered, and where they have been lords of the soil and the dominant nation for twelve centuries,] the government of the united countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on the personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of all his acts, by Louis Kossuth." In short, a temporary dictatorship was established, absolute power being confided, not to a military commander, a

course which the pressing exigencies of the war might well have justified,—but to a civilian, who was to exercise all the authority which, in a republican insurrection, is usually delegated to a legislative assembly.

The Croatians and other Sclavonians are not the only people, who, in this singular Declaration of Independence, are denounced as rebels. One of the charges specified in it against the imperial government is, that "the *traitorous* commander" in Transylvania "stirred up *the Wallachian peasants* to take arms against their own constitutional rights, and, aided by the rebellious Servian hordes, commenced a war of Vandalism and extinction." Here, as in other passages, this remarkable document bears less resemblance to the declaration of a people who have risen in arms against their rulers to vindicate their liberties, than to a manifesto of those rulers intended to censure and subdue such insurrection. It is an appeal to the ancient institutions of the country; a vindication of the just authority of the governors over the governed; a reproof of rebellion. How the Hungarians could be engaged in a a contest at the same time with their hereditary sovereign and with their own rebellious subjects, is the problem which we seek to solve by investigating the former position of the parties in respect to each other, and the circumstances out of which the war arose.

Hungary, with a territory no larger than that of Virginia and North Carolina united, has a population of about ten millions and a half, made up of at least half a dozen distinct races, who speak as many different languages and dialects. Among these, the Magyars, who are the dominant race, and have long owned all the soil and held the whole political power of the country in their hands, number about 4,200,000. The Sclavonians are rather more numerous, but are divided into many distinct tribes, which inhabit different portions of the country, and speak what was originally one language; the several Sclavonic dialects have marked peculiarities, yet do not differ so widely but that the different tribes can understand each other. The Slowacks, who inhabit the north of Hungary, and number about 2,200,000, seem most nearly allied to the Czechs of Bohemia, another Sclavonic tribe who began the recent revolutionary movement in the disjointed empire of Austria. The Rusniaks, a third Sclavonic tribe, are 300,000 in number. The inhabitants of Croatia, who are of the Sclavonic race, number about 700,000; and there are as many more of the Servians, of the same descent, who live within the borders of Hungary. Add to the Magyars and the Sclavonians about one million of Germans, another million of Wallachians, 250,000 Jews, and a few thousand Greeks, Armenians, and Gipsies, and you have the heterogene-

ous population of Hungary proper. The population of Transylvania, which has long been a dependency of Hungary, and was united with it in the recent war, consists of 260,000 Magyars, 260,000 Szeklers, a rude tribe allied to the Magyars, 250,000 Germans, and 1,300,000 Wallachians. On the Military Frontier, again, there are nearly 700,000 Croats, 200,000 Servians, 200,000 Germans, and 100,000 Wallachians. Taken in its largest sense, therefore, Hungary has a population of about fourteen millions, of whom less than one third are Magyars, rather more than a third are Sclavonians, one sixth are Wallachians, and only one twelfth are Germans. The prevailing languages, of course, are the Magyar, the Sclavonic in all its dialects, the German, and the Wallachian, no one of which has any affinity with another.

There is a great diversity of religious faith, as of a language and race, among this singular population. The Wallachians are nearly all of the Greek church, more than half of them, however, being schismatics. Most of the Sclavonians are Romanists, and the Catholic is the established church in Croatia, where no protestant can hold an office under government. The Germans are chiefly Lutherans, and nearly half of the Magyars are Calvinists. The Unitarian is one of the three established churches of Transylvania, having been introduced into that country by a queen of Poland in the sixteenth century: though the Wallachians form nearly two thirds of the population of the duchy, their church, which is the Greek, is only tolerated.

The dominant races, or "sovereign nations," as they call themselves, have labored to render their supremacy as conspicuous as possible; in their ordinary employments and in military service, in the civil, political, and religious institutions of the country, the dividing line between them and the "subject nations" is very broadly marked. This distinction, so universal and conspicuous, having been acknowledged and uncontested for centuries, has prevented any amalgamation of the different races with each other; and thus the Magyars, the Wallachians, the Saxons, and the Sclavonians have lived for ages side by side, each preserving their own language, religion, occupation, habits, and all their national characteristics as distinct and broadly separated from each other as they were when the fortunes of war and the migrating propensities of their ancestors first brought them in contact, and established them on the same soil. The subject nations, both Wallachian and Sclavonic, are a rude and uneducated people, who have never been able to acquire the languages of their masters, which are fundamentally different from their own; and this circumstance alone has raised an insuperable bar to intercourse between them. They are also,

for the most part, of a mild and unambitious disposition, patient and laborious, and firmly attached to the customs of their ancestors. They are the aborigines of the country, the first possessors of the soil upon which the Huns, the Turks, the Magyars, and the Germans have subsequently established themselves by right of conquest. Submission and inferiority have been enforced upon them through so many generations, that they have become the badges of their tribe; and it is only within a few years that the idea of resistance, or the possibility of asserting an equality of rights, has even occurred to them.

Here in America, where emigrants coming to us from all the nations of Europe, and submitting themselves to the crucible of our republican institutions, are fused in the course of one or two generations into one homogeneous mass, different languages, temperaments, habits, and characters, all blending together and disappearing almost as rapidly as the gases sent out from a chemical laboratory are diffused and lost in the great body of the outward atmosphere, we can hardly believe it possible, in another country, several distinct races should live side by side, crowded together within a comparatively small territory, and still remain as distinct from each other, and preserve all their original differences as strongly marked, as when circumstances first brought them together centuries ago. But it is so; these broad differences of race exist, and the feelings of rivalry and mutual hostility, which so naturally result from them, must show themselves when once the dominion of the foreign sovereign, the common master who originally held them all in equal subjection and at peace with each other, is withdrawn, and national independence allows full scope for the national tendencies to produce their appropriate effects. Hungary is the eastern outpost of civilized Europe; its position made it the first stopping-place in the migration of those hordes from central Asia, which prostrated the Roman empire in the west, and afterward so often menaced the independence of the several kingdoms which were established upon its ruins. It was therefore both the earliest and the latest sufferer from these incursions. Attila pitched his tents here before he swept over the fairer regions of Italy and Gaul; in 1526, the last independent king of Hungary was defeated and slain by the Turks in the fatal battle of Mohacz, and the greater part of the country remained subject to the Ottomans for a century and a half, till the heroic John Sobieski* and the Prince Eugene of Savoy, accomplished its deliverance. From that time it has remained subject to Austria, its union with this empire being necessary for its protection against the Turks, and essential for

* Sobieski, the King of Poland, was a sincere ally of the Austrian Empire.

the freedom of its communication with western Europe. Its perilous position, and the frequent wars of which it has been the theatre, have kept alive the military spirit of its people, and preserved its military institutions in complete vitality. But its remoteness and isolation have prevented it from sharing in the improvements of modern times; and its institutions, military, civil, and political, are those of the Middle Ages. The Feudal System existed there but yesterday in full vigor; all the land was held by the nobles on condition of military service, and on failure of direct heirs reverted to the crown. The peasants were serfs attached to the soil, and could bring no suit against their feudal lord except in his own manorial court, where the noble was judge in his own cause. The distance between the vassal and his lord was rendered more broad and impassable by the fact that they belonged to different races, and spoke different languages. The differences of employment and social position contributed to perpetuate the distinctions of race; the Magyars, proud of their noble birth, would follow hardly any profession but that of arms. And they scorned the foot service; a century or two ago, they served as knights and mounted men-at-arms; now, they form the most splendid cavalry in the world, and leave the Croats and other Sclavonians to fill the ranks of the infantry. The Szeklers, the kindred in race of the Magyars, are born soldiers; more rude and uncultivated than their splendid kinsmen in Hungary, they are equally haughty, and more fierce and savage; woe to those who dare encounter them in the course of a civil war, for even their tender mercies are cruel. When the passions of the Magyars are not excited, however, their conduct is neither overbearing nor tyrannical; they have too much real bravery, and are too high spirited and generous, for the one or the other. The patient and laborious Wallachians and Sclavonians have tilled the ground for them for centuries, hardly conscious how firmly the yoke of servitude rested on their necks.

Hungary has been aptly compared to an old feudal castle, with its donjons and moats, its battlements and portcullis, which the modern reformers wished to transform at once into an elegant and convenient modern habitation. The first step necessary in so sweeping a reform was to level it with the ground; and those who had made this rash attempt soon found that they had miscalculated the strength of the antique and massive pile. They succeeded only in pulling down some of the outworks upon their own heads. Among these classes so widely separated, among races that are foreign, and even hostile, to each other, with different religions, different tongues, and different civilizations, it

was vain to think of introducing the modern ideas of democracy and equality; and the Magyars themselves have never attempted it.

The Magyars inhabit chiefly the central and eastern portions of Hungary, having the Slowacks on the north, the Wallachians on the east, and the Croatians and other Illyro Sclavonians on the south.—The great estates of their titled nobles, or magnates, as they are called, extend over every portion of the country, as the other races, till quite recently, owned little or no land in Hungary proper, except in the free cities, where the land had been freed by purchase, or released from feudal obligations by the favor of the crown. It is estimated by the latest statisticians, that the nobles, who are all Magyars, number at least 600,000, including women and children, so that one seventh part of this dominant race enjoy the privileges of rank; but the magnates do not exceed two hundred in number, most of whom own vast possessions. The untitled nobility have the entire control of the lower house, or second table, as it is called, in the general Diet, this house being composed chiefly of representatives from the county assemblies, and the affairs of the counties, (*comitats,*) of which there are about sixty in the kingdom, are regulated exclusively by the Magyar nobles.—Thus, as the magnates form the great majority of the upper house, or first table, the whole legislation of the kingdom is in the hands of the nobility. All the Magyar nobles own land, which the poorest of them are often obliged to cultivate with their own hands, as any employment in commerce or the mechanic arts is considered derogatory to their rank, and they do not often engage even in the learned professions. The Magyars who are not noble form the higher class of the peasantry, and though not often rich, they have generally most of the necessaries, and even the comforts of life, as the feudal burdens on their lands are not excessive, and their tenant rights are often very valuable. Whether peasants or nobles, they pride themselves on their race, and regard the Wallachians and Sclavonians as their subjects, if not as inferior beings. According to this proverb:

"Tôt nem ember, kàsa nem étel, telega nem szeker."
A Sclavonian is no man, the millet is no eating, a car is no coach.

The Magyar language stands by itself, having no affinity or relationship with any other language in Europe; *lingua sine matre et sororibus.* There are only two other languages on the continent, the Biscayan or Basque, and the Finnish, which are equally isolated; some philologists have attempted to trace an affinity between the Magyar and the Finnish, but the prevailing opinion now is, that the resemblance between them is too slight to afford sure grounds for believing that they

sprang originally from the same stock. The Hungarian is a barbarian and nomadic language, offending the ear and of very limited use, having hardly any literature, and only a few learned philologists, besides the Magyars themselves, are acquainted with it. This peculiar character of their language alone is enough to point out the Magyars as comparative strangers in the country which they inhabit and own, its former possessors having been deprived of the soil and reduced to servitude. Their attitude in this fair region is still that of conquerors lording it over the ancient inhabitants, who have never succeeded in shaking off the yoke which was imposed on them nearly 1200 years ago. Leaving aside for the present the changes which have been made within the last ten years, it may be said that all the political and civil institutions of the country were contrived exclusively for the benefit of this domidant race, who form, be it remembered, less than a third part of the population; and down to the outbreak of the recent war, these institutions were exclusively controlled and managed by them. The Magyar peasants, it is true, had nothing to do with the direction of affairs, though their interests, so far as they came in conflict with those of the Sclavonian and Wallachian peasants, were, of course protected by the great body of the Magyar nobility, who owned all the land, and made all the laws. The guaranties of Hungarian independence, so frequently alluded to in speaking of the union of the country with Austria, were nothing more than stipulations in favor of the privileges of the nobles. The engagement to respect "the ancient constitution" of the land, which was a part of the coronation oath whenever a new emperor of Austria was crowned king of Hungary at Buda, was simply a promise to do nothing to disturb the domination of the Magyar race, and to respect the rights and immunities of the nobles. That these immunities were precious in the eyes of the nobles, and were jealously guarded, we can well believe, inasmuch as they secured to them entire exemption from taxation, all the burdens of the state being borne by the peasants.

So far was this principle carried, that, down to 1840, the nobles were not required to pay the ordinary toll on passing the bridges which were erected for the public convenience. "I shall never forget," writes M. de Langsdorff, "the impression I received when, on the bridge which crosses the Danube at Pesth, I saw every peasant, every poor cultivator of the ground, rudely stopped and compelled to pay toll both for himself and for the meagre horses harnessed to his cart.* The tolls are heavy, amounting to a considerable sum for these

* I have experienced the same fact as M. de Langsdorff in the year 1848, passing the bridge between Pesth and Buda.

poor people; while the Magyar gentlemen, mounted on fine horses, or seated in elegant carriages, passed and repassed without payment I had read, it is true, that the Hungarian noble was exempted from all public contributions, was subject to no personal tax, and that all burdens fell on the peasants; but there is a great difference between the mention in print of some old injustice of the laws, and the immediate and irritating spectacle of a social wrong. I felt that I belonged to the party of the vanquished, and like them I offered to pay. But the toll gatherer, perceiving that I was a stranger, refused my money, and told me that the tax was intended only for the serfs. This exemption, it is true, was a small affair, and tyranny has other practices that are far more odious; but from that time I was no more astonished by the inequalities and anomalies which I witnessed during the rest of my journey; I had foreseen them all on the bridge at Pesth."

As the bridge was built from the public funds, which are supplied exclusively by taxation of the peasants, the injustice of allowing the nobles to pass free is still more obvious. It was one of the grand reforms effected by Count Széchény, that the Diet, in 1836, was induced to vote that the nobility should be subject to toll on passing the fine suspended bridge by which it had been resolved to supersede the floating one at Pesth. The nobles deserve the more credit for this act, for as they have the entire control of both tables of the Diet, they were called upon to vote down one of the privileges of their own order. Though the amount of the toll was insignificant, the passage of the law was acknowledged to be a point of great importance, as it would sacrifice one of the most cherished principles of the ancient constitution of the country,—the exemption of the nobility from all public contributions whatever. Count Széchény had labored strenuously to prepare the public mind for the change by the pamphlets which he had published on the subject; and he took the lead as a debater in the Diet in favor of the measure. After the debate, opinions seemed so equally divided that the Palatine, who presided, durst not declare that the bill had passed in the usual way, by acclamation; for the first time in the history of a Hungarian Diet, and though there were great doubts of the legality of such a course, the votes were ordered to be counted, and, in a full house, a majority of six were reported on the side of generosity and justice.

The present position of the Magyars in Hungary is very much what that of the Normans in England was, for the first century or two after the Conquest. Though William had fair pretensions to the crown by right of birth—his title, in fact was quite as good as that of Harold—he treated the Saxons, after he had subdued them, as if his

only claim to their allegiance rested upon the sword. He exercised all the rights of a conquerer according to the ideas of his own barbarous age; and his chivalrous but rapacious nobles, with their greedy followers, eagerly seconded his designs. To break the spirit of the conquered Saxons by the insults as much as by the losses inflicted upon them, to proscribe their language as well as to rob them of their estates, to ridicule their habits, and to brand them as an inferior and degraded race, who were unfit to hold office and unworthy to bear arms, was the settled policy of the earlier Norman kings. The Norman French was the language of the court, the nobility, and the parliament, of all legislative acts and legal proceedings, from which, indeed, it has not entirely disappeared even at the present day. The chief captains of the invading army became the great barons of the realm, who were afterwards prompt enough to vindicate the privileges of their order against the arbitrary will of the monarch, but who took very little care of the liberties of the commonalty. But luckily the Normans were not numerous in comparison with the whole body of the Saxon population of England; and as they had to cross the channel to arrive at their new domain, they could not always bring their wives and daughters with them. The fair haired Saxon maidens did more towards the emancipation of the English people than did their fathers and brothers, for they soon began to lead captive their Norman conquerors. In the course of a few generations, very little Norman blood remained entirely pure in the island. A mixed race quickly formed a mixed language, and the English compound soon showed itself more generous and fertile than either the Norman or the Saxon element uncombined. The conquerors were like a mighty river rushing into the ocean with such force as to drive back the waters of the deep, and preserve its freshness some miles from land; but the contest is too unequal, the force of the stream is soon spent, and its sweet waters are finally lost in the saltness of the multitudinous waves.

☞Normandy sent forth a little army that was able to conquer England, but was not numerous enough to possess it. Little more than a century before the period of that invasion, the Asiatic hive of nations had sent forth one of its great swarms of Tartar breed, men, women, and children, carrying their tents, rude household utensils, and pagan gods along with them, to find fresh pastures for their herds on the rich fields of Europe. The fertile plain of central Hungary afforded them their first resting place; the degenerate descendants of Trajan's Roman legions, who now call themselves *Roumani*, or Wallachians, and the ancient Sclavonic races, who were the aborigines of the country, offered but a feeble resistance to these fierce invaders. They were

either driven into the fastnesses of the Carpathian mountains, or were reduced to servitude, and compelled to till the lands which were no longer their own. But the easy conquest of Hungary did not satisfy the rapacious and warlike spirit of the Magyars. Leaving a portion of their horde behind them, the others passed on, and carried the terror of their arms far into Germany and Italy, and even to the borders of Spain. As their habits were nomadic, and they were exercised from infancy in archery and horsemanship, they were able to make annual incursions into the more civilized countries around them, baffling their enemies by the swiftness of their movements and the suddenness of their attacks, and bringing back to their newly adopted land a rich booty from the cities which they had plundered and burnt. So much consternation did they create by these inroads, that the Christian nations of that period regarded them as the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world. But their power was at last broken by two severe defeats which they received, in succession, from Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great.—The latter one was so overwhelming, that it humbled the spirit of the nation, who thenceforward kept within the limits of Hungary, where the fertility of the soil, and the enjoyments procured for them by the patient labor of the Sclavonians and Wallachians whom they had reduced to servitude, gradually weaned them from their fondness for hazardous excursions, and gave them a taste for sedentary life and the arts of peace. But they preserved their individuality as a race, because they had brought their women and children with them from Asia, and they scorned to intermarry with their subjects, whose language was a mere jargon in their ears. Thus isolated from surrounding nations, the warlike and nomadic spirit of their ancestors was kept alive in them, and on fit occasion it flamed forth as of old. They no longer invaded other lands, but they fortified their own mountain fastnesses, and for three centuries the integrity of their territory was not violated by foes from without.

☞Barbarian conquerors leave nothing to the vanquished; the Magyars appropriated to themselves the whole of the soil of Hungary, and their laws rendered it impossible that any portion of it should ever be alienated from them. The theory which they adopted was, that the whole territory belonged to the king, as he was the only representative of the entire nation; in respect to its immediate occupation and use, the ground was partitioned among them on strictly military principles. The officers, or petty chieftains, down to the lowest, received estates the size of which was proportioned to their rank and to the number of men whom they had commanded; these men, the

common soldiers, with their families, were to live upon the estates of their officers, and by their labor, when they had not Sclavonian or Wallachian serfs enough to labor for them, to support both themselves and their former commanders. The descendants of these officers, who seem to have been very numerous, form the present Hungarian nobility; the Magyar peasants are the offspring of the common soldiers, or privates. The title of the crown is indefeasible; the noble has only what is called the right of possession, *jus possessionis*, in his estate; on the failure of his posterity—usually, on the failure of the male line only, but sometimes after both the male and female lines are extinct—the land reverts to the king. Only the descendants of the person who first received the estate can hold it in perpetuity; they may dispose of it if they please, but then the purchaser cannot hold it after this family from whom he received it becomes extinct. The crown can always reclaim the land, though it may have changed hands several times, whenever it can be shown that there are no heirs of the original possessor in being. So, also, the purchaser cannot retain possession, if any heir of the first owner, however remote, or at a day however distant from the time of transfer, chooses to refund the purchase money with interest, and thus reclaim the estate. Practically, therefore, land in Hungary is inalienable; it is loaded with a sort of double entail—first, in favor of the crown, secondly, in favor of the family of the first owner.—Any one may buy it, indeed, but he does so at a great risk; for if the family from whom he brought it becomes extinct, the crown will take it away from him; and if it does not become extinct, any member of it, at any time, can regain the land by refunding its price. These two rights, which affect all the landed property in the kingdom, are called *fiscalitas*, or the right of the exchequer, and *aviticitas*, or the right of ancestry. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that the land should have remained for so many centuries exclusively in possession of the Magyar nobility.

All estates are held on condition of military service, the possessors of them being bound to bring into the field, at the call of the crown or the Diet, a number of soldiers proportioned to the extent of his lands. The peasants retain their holdings on the same tenure; so that, in an *insurrection*, as the levy *en masse* in Hungary is called, every male in the kingdom who derives his subsistence from the land, and is capable of bearing arms, is drawn into the service. As military duty is thus connected with the ownership of land and the rights of the nobility, the position of the Magyars in the country has always retained its primitive aspect, as a military encampment. The free cities are innovations in the ancient constitution; their existence proves that even

feudal Hungary has not been able to fence out altogether the spirit and the improvements of modern times. Their inhabitants are chiefly Germans, Jews, and Sclavonians, engaged in commerce and the mechanic arts; and they are not subject to this onerous obligation of military service. But the political power goes along with the military, and what the *bourgeoisie* gain in the freedom and ease of their position, they lose in influence. The nobles, that is, the Magyars, have the control of the army, and direct the whole course of public affairs. They alone, as we have seen, compose the county assemblies, or congregations, which meet four times a year, and send delegates to the general Diet, which has the supreme legislative power of the kingdom.

The situation of the peasants, in reference to that of the nobility, is not one of so great hardship and injustice as we might at first sight suppose. The peasants do not own the lands which they cultivate, but hire them of the proper landlords on what may be called a perpetual lease; only, instead of paying a fixed sum annually, which would be called rent, they are held to pay all the taxes or public burdens, to pay tithes also, part of which go to the landlords and part to the clergy, and to perform certain other services for the benefit of the owners of the estate. The aggregate of all these burdens does not amount to a fair rent for the value of the land; the proof of which is, that a peasant's holding, or his tenant-right, is good property, which commands a price in the market, and as such is often bought up by the lord of the manor himself. It is evident, therefore, that there would be great injustice in freeing the land at once from these feudal obligations without compensating the land owners, as this would amount simply to a transference of the property to the tenants without an equivalent, and the nobles would thus be robbed of their entire estates. On the other hand, if the feudal burdens were taken off, and the land restored without incumbrance to its former owners, the peasants would be greatly injured by the change, as they would be obliged to pay full rent for what they now enjoy at a price much inferior to its annual value.— The matter was thus regarded in the Diet, where the question has been debated for the last thirteen years, all parties being equally desirous of emancipating the peasants from these feudal obligations, and all acknowledging that the lord of the manor is indisputably the owner of the land, and that he cannot justly be deprived of it without an equivalent. The only question was, whether the landlords should be indemnified by the state, out of a fund to be raised by a loan for that purpose, or whether they should be paid by annuities, chargeable for a term of years on the peasants themselves, who could afford to pay them if released from the burdensome conditions upon which they had

hitherto enjoyed their holdings. The Austrian government took the lead in urging the Diet to settle the question by adopting one or the other of these methods; and its advice would probably have been followed if the revolution had not intervened. Kossuth and his party hastily cut the knot by decreeing the abolition of the feudal burdens, making over the entire ownership of the lands to the peasants, and promising to indemnify the landlords out of a fund to be created by confiscating the property of the clergy. This was simply robbing Peter to pay Paul, because the assistance of Paul was needed to carry out the revolution. Nobody, it was supposed, would care about the plunder of the church.

The Magyars continued to be pagans for a century after their establishment in the country. But when they had become domesticated on the soil, and had begun to cultivate peaceful relations with their neighbors, Christianity made its way among them in spite of the obstacle created by their peculiar language, which has always retarded their assimilation with the other nations of Europe. St. Stephen was their first Christian king, and his name is still revered among them as the founder of their institutions, and the Charlemagne of their race. He was crowned by Pope Sylvester II. with the famous crown of gold, which was till recently preserved at Buda, as the palladium of their nation; the Scotch did not regard with greater reverence the famous stone in the royal seat at Scone. St. Stephen systemized their institutions, but did not alter their essential character, which remained as it was under Arpad, the chieftain who led them into the country. In the main, their government was that of a feudal kingdom, its peculiarities being the great number of the nobles, and the domination of the whole race over the Sclavonians and Wallachians. Their position was one well suited to develop a military spirit, aristocratic tendencies, and an intense feeling of nationality. They became as haughty, brave, and rapacious as the Normans, though not so refined, owing to their remoteness from the civilized capitals of western Europe. On account of their greater relative numbers, and the patient and unenterprising character of the races whom they had subdued, their dominion was more secure at home than was that of the Normans in Sicily, France, or England; but they were exposed to greater dangers from without. Asia continued to pour forth its barbarian hordes upon Europe, long after their establishment in Hungary; and in their frontier position, they were the first objects of attack for enemies of a like origin with themselves, but now of a dissimilar faith. They were valiant and skilful in war, but they could not bring out the whole strength of the country against its invaders, since their oppressed

subjects cared little about a change of masters; and therefore they sometimes experienced severe defeats. In 1526, the youthful king of Hungary was totally defeated and slain by the Turks in the fatal battle of Mohacz. Since that time, they have found protection from their enemies only by their union with Austria.

It was as an ally more than as a subject province, as a sovereign power submitting to certain common restrictions for the purchase of certain common advantages, that Hungary made choice, so long as her monarchy remained elective, of the emperor of Austria to be her king, and finally, in a Diet held at Presburg in 1687, acknowledged the hereditary right of the same family to reign in both countries. After the memorable scene with Maria Theresa, this right was extended, according to the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, to the female line. It was not, indeed, till after her union with Austria was confirmed, that Hungary was entirely released from the Turks, who had retained possession of full half of the kingdom, from the battle of Mohacz till they were defeated and driven out by the heroic John Sobieski in 1683, and by the Prince Eugene of Savoy in the years 1691—1716—1718. During this period of national humiliation and distress, the Magyars hesitated whether to throw themselves under the exclusive protection of the Austrians or the Turks, who divided the country between them. Though Ferdinand I. of Austria had become their rightful sovereign after the death of the unhappy Louis II., whose sister he had married, and whose right, of course, was transmitted to her descendants, the Austrian rule was so distasteful to them, that they invoked the aid of the Ottomans against it, and in the sanguine struggle, the noted Tökölö and his partisans fought with the Turks against Sobieski. Fortunately for Christendom, the body of the nation at length preferred to unite itself to Austria, and thus to strenghten the eastern frontier of Europe against the Ottoman power, instead of contributing directly to its advancement.

The real cause of dislike of the Austrian alliance was the fear entertained by the nobles lest the abundant privileges of their order, which they had wrested from their native princes, should not be respected by the house of Hapsburg. As in every other feudal kingdom, there had been a long struggle for the mastery between the crown and the barons; and the issue of this contest, owing to the great number of the nobility, was far more unfavorable to the regal power in Hungary, than it was in France and England. King Andreas II. had been drawn into the Crusades, and on his return from Palestine, he found that his subjects had taken the same advantage of him which the people of several other European countries had reaped from the absence of their

sovereigns in the east; the royal power had fallen into decay, the nobles had usurped what the crown had lost, and had entered into a conspiracy to protect their usurpations. He was obliged to yield, and to grant to the rebels the celebrated Golden Bull, which is to Hungary what Magna Charta is to England, except that it secures only the nobility in their rights, and leaves the peasants and the subject nations just where they were, a prey to the oppression both of the barons and the crown. This instrument, which as still frequently appealed to as the most important chapter in the constitution, secures to the nobles freedom from arrest except by due course of law, perpetual immunity from all taxation whatever, the right, when their privileges are attacked, of legal resistance without incurring the penalties of treason, and freedom from any obligation to obey the king till after his regular coronation.

The truth is, Hungary has always been independent; she has enjoyed her own constitution, her own legislature, the right of electing her own palatine, and of determining the measure of assistance which she would grant Austria in case of war. The union of the two countries was a union for their common good to strengthen their hands against their common enemies, the Turks. Hungary had no greater cause to dread an Austrian sovereign, than England had to fear the accession of James VI. of Scotland. The cases were entirely parallel; the late monarch was styled the emperor Ferdinand I. at Vienna, and king Ferdinand V. at Presburg. Hungary being far the largest and most powerful of the many states which form the conglomerate empire, and having a numerous order of nobility, who enjoyed the most extensive constitutional privileges, were warlike in their habits, and could bring strong bodies of their vassals into the field, an advantage not enjoyed by any other portion of the Austrian dominions, there was more reason that Austria should be jealous of her, than that she should be jealous of Austria.

Besides, political reasons of great weight forbade the separation of Hungary from the empire. On account of its geographical position, its absolute independence would cause its isolaton; it would be thrown off from the civilization and the politics of western and central Europe into semi-barbarism, surrounded by Turkey, the people of Wallachia, Servia, and Bulgaria. Austria, it has been well observed, is now the bridge that connects her with European civilization: it would be ruinous policy to convert that bridge into a barrier. Hungary proper is entirely inland, she has no seaport, no outlet for her commerce; for even the Danube, her only natural highway to the sea, flows in the lower part of its course through the dominions of Turkey, and its

mouth is also commanded by Russia. Either of these powers, therefore, might at any time cut off the communication of Hungary with the Black Sea. Croatia has the poor roadstead, rather than seaport, of Fiume on the Adriatic; and the wish to secure even this inconvenient and distant opening to the Mediterranean is doubtless one of the reasons why the Magyars have been so anxious to preserve Croatia as a dependency of Hungary. Separated from Austria, deprived of Croatia, and cut off by the Turks from the navigation of the Danube, Magyar-Hungary would be like an isolated tree planted in a soil where there is no water, the branches and foliage of which would wither in a single season.

It was only the restless and domineering spirit of the united Magyar nobility, aggressive and fiery in temperament, and panting not so much for absolute independence as for entire control of the more patient, industrious, and unambitious races—Sclavonians, Germans, and Wallachians—by whom they are surrounded, which kindled the recent war, and so conducted it as to arm every one of these races against themselves; and thus, in spite of their own matchless bravery and enthusiasm, and the misplaced sympathy of the republican party throughout Europe and America, to bring down upon their heads the united powers of Austria and Russia, and finally to sink in the unequal struggle. Had they begun by the abnegation of the enormous and unjust privileges of their own order and the insolent supremacy of their race; had they offered confedration and equality of political rights to Croat and Slowack, Saxon and Wallachian, their united strength might have dashed in pieces the Austrian empire, and the Russian troops would never have crossed their borders. But they aimed to procure dissimilar and incompatible objects; to retain the economical and political advantages of a union with Austria, without submitting to any control, or tendering any equivalent; to be admitted to all the privileges enjoyed by the Hereditary States, without bearing any portion of their burdens; to vindicate their own independence against the empire, but to crush the Croatians and Wallachians for daring to claim independence of the Magyars; to "hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair," to stifle "the rebellion in south Hungary," to lay waste with fire and sword the Saxon colonies in Transylvania, and then evoke the indignation of Europe against the interference of Russia, whose troops entered Hermanstadt *at the urgent entreaty of these Saxon colonists*, in order to save them from utter destruction by the merciless Szeklers and Magyars.

We have said that the immediate cause of the Hungarian Declaration of Independence was the publication, by the youthful emperor of

Austria, of a very liberal constitution of all his subjects on the 4th of March, 1849. So bountiful was this constitution in granting political privileges and securities to all Austrian subjects, without distinction, that the Magyars had no ostensible ground to complain of it, except that which is stated in their declaration; that it divided what they call *their* territory "into five parts, separating Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia and Fiume from Hungary, and creating at the same time a principality for the Servian rebels," and thus "paralyzed the political existence of the country." The justice even of this complaint is not very obvious; for Transylvania has always had a Diet of her own, Croatia and Sclavonia united also have one, and the degree in which these Diets depend on, or are subject to, the Hungarian Diet, has never been accurately determined. The Croatian Diet protests against any such dependence or subjection whatever, and for very good reasons; for it is permitted to send but three delegates to the Diet at Pesth, which is wholly controlled by the Magyar nobility. What power would these three delegates have to protect the interests of the provinces which they represent, and which have an exclusively Sclavonian population? it is evident that the separation of these four provinces from Hungary, with which, indeed, they have never been properly or rightfully united, was absolutely necessary in order to carry out another article of the new Austrian constitution, which is the real object that the Magyars protest against. This article is the one we have already quoted, which secures an equality of rights to all the differeut races of the empire, and guarantees to each the privilege of retaining its own nationality and language. Other articles declare, that "for all the races or nations of the empire there is but one general Austrian citizenship;" and that "in no Crown-land shall there be any difference between its natives and those of another Crown-land, neither in the administration of civil or criminal justice, nor in the ways and manners of justice, nor in the distribution of the public burdens." This is in the true republican spirit of equality of rights and political privileges; and this was the law which Austria decreed, and Magyar-Hungary repudiated. The policy of Austria is evident enough; we grant her no credit but for submitting frankly and without reserve to what had become a political necessity. History furnishes many other instances of a triangular contest between a despotic monarch, an arrogant nobility, and an exasperated people, in which the crown made common cause with the people, granted all their demands, and thus gained power enough to crush the refractory barons. Royalty is always more prompt to sacrifice its prerogatives, than an aristocracy is to abandon its privileges;

for the former hopes to retrieve at a future day the ground which it has lost; while the latter, if once depressed, can never rise.

But the Magyars found still more serious causes to complain of the liberality of the new Austrian constitution. It provides that the Upper House of the General Imperial Diet shall consist of two members chosen by each of the provincial diets, besides other persons chosen by the Imperial Diet itself, enough to make the whole number one half as large as that of the Lower House; that is, it establishes an equal representation of the several Crown-lands in this Upper House, thus giving to Transylvania, Croatia and Sclavonia, and Fiume with its territories, equal weight with Hungary, and of course emancipating them from Hungarian domination. The constitution of the Lower House in the Imperial Diet is still more fatal to the lofty pretensions of the Magyars to govern all other races and nationalities. "The Lower House proceeds from general and direct elections. The franchise belongs *to every Austrian citizen who is of age*," and who pays a moderate tax, which is not in any case to exceed twenty florins, and may be as small as five florins. This is *equal* suffrage, and it certainly comes as near *universal* suffrage as any reasonable liberal could desire, considering how little experience the subjects of Austria have had in managing representative institutions. Under such a law, the 4,200,000 Magyars lose all control even of Hungary proper, which has a population of 10,500,000; the reins pass at once from their hands into those of the despised Sclavonians and Wallachians, who, taken together, number over six millions. The Magyar nobility, who number about 600,000, beheld themselves reduced from a condition in which they had the entire control of public affairs to a level with the eight millions of peasants. This proud aristocracy is absolutely crushed by the genuine republicanism of the constitution. This was the grievance which produced the Hungarian Declaration of Independence, a Declaration put forth by a Diet constituted almost exclusively of the Magyar nobility. Up to the 4th of March, 1849, the reunion of Hungary with Austria was possible, and even probable, though open hostilities had existed between them for nearly six months; but on that date, the new constitution was issued, and the Magyar nobles immediately threw away the scabbard, and declared that they fought for absolute national independence.

That they might not be absolutely without allies in a contest which would evidently be a long and desperate one, and as they could find no friends among the subject races in their own country whom they had so long oppressed, they resolved to make common cause with the ultra republicans of Vienna, and, indeed, of Germany and all Europe.

It was this alliance which varnished over their aristocratic purposes and tendencies with a false appearance of democracy, and gained for them the misdirected sympathies of the liberal party in both hemispheres. To one who has studied the history, character, and condition of the Magyar race in Hungary, this alliance certainly appears one of the most skilful artifices that was ever framed. It can be explained only on the principle so frequently exemplified in the movements of political parties, that extremes meet. The most striking feature in the Magyar character is the chivalrous, haughty, and aristocratic spirit which has been fostered by centuries of undisputed dominion over the nations whom their ancestors conquered before more than 1000 years ago, and by a continued struggle with the house of Austria to preserve the exclusive privileges of their order and their race.

An intense feeling of their nationality has always directed their conduct. Even of late years, when ideas of progress and democratic reform had pushed their way even into Hungary, the great question at the Diet did not relate to the mode of embodying these ideas into legislative acts, but to the doubt whether the king, at the close of the session, would wear the Hungarian surcoat or the Austrian royal mantle ; and whether he would make his speech in Magyar or in German. The manner in which the royal propositions were received, (the crown had the initiative in all legislative acts,) depended much more on the solution of these doubts than on the nature of the propositions themselves. "I still remember," says an eye witness, "the closing of the diet of 1840. The discussions had been stormy, and the members were about to separate with angry and resentful feelings. There were some at Vienna who counselled vigorous and severe measures. But there was a surer means of allaying the discontent. The emperor appeared in the Magyar hussar uniform, and the empress and her ladies bore the long white veil which the Magyar dames wear on great festival occasions. The assembly, electrified at the sight, made the hall resound with their cries of joy and triumph ; and at the first word pronounced by the emperor in the Magyar language, the enthusiasm broke through all bounds, and he was not permitted to finish the sentence which he had learned with some difficulty."

This enthusiasm of character, coupled with some picturesque peculiarities of dress and customs, is one great cause of the favor with which the cause of the Magyars has been received in Europe. The established mode of taking the vote in the Diet has always been by *acclamation,* so that unanimity was often supposed when it did not exist. A noble never appears in public without the long and trailing sabre peculiar to his race, which, as already observed, he carries even

nto the legislative halls ; whence the proverbial saying among them, "he has his arms, and he has his vote; his vote is therefore free." Assent was signified by clashing these sabres ; and their late Palatine, the archduke Joseph, was noted for his quickness of ear and impartiality in determining whether more sabres were clashed in the affirmative or the negative of a question. In this instance, as in many others, we see that the Magyar pride of race and strong attachment to ancestral usages have brought down a rude custom of the Middle Ages to modern times, in which it has no real significance, though it gives to their proceedings a factitious air of unanimity and chivalric feeling.

Again, the ordinary assemblage of the militia in Hungary, to perform the military service required of them by the tenure of their lands, is called the *insurrection;* a word which, as repeated by the historians, gives quite a false aspect to the occurrence. The splendid attire of the Hungarian soldiery, especially of the cavalry, in which arm alone the nobles are bound to serve, shows the rude and barbaric taste for magnificence which has descended to them from their Tartar ancestors, and has been religiously cultivated as a badge of their race. Yet their dress is well designed for military purposes, as the imposing aspect of an army is often an element of its success ; the Magyar hussar jacket, embroidered with gold and pearls, has been copied in half the armies of Europe. One reason of the lasting popularity of the late Palatine was, that he always wore the national dress, especially the *attila*, a sort of tunic of cloth or black velvet, the name of which flatters the pride of the Magyars with the memory of their supposed ancient leader, and the *mente*, a long surcoat or pelisse, trimmed with fur. He also spoke with great fluency the Magyar language, a rare accomplishment for a native German, though no officer of rank in Hungary would be tolerated who had not acquired it. The nobles pay great attention to the physical education of their children, accustoming them from a very early age to all manly exercises, especially swimming and horsemanship. The noted reformer, Count Széchény, a magnate of high rank and great wealth, is reported to be the best swimmer in Hungary ; a crowd often collected on the quay at Pesth when the rumor was circulated that he was about to swim over the Danube.

Many of the characteristics of the Magyar race interest the imagination and the feelings strongly in their favor ; but the sober judgment of one who looks at them under all the light derived from the improved civilization of the nineteenth century cannot but condemn their position as a false one, their institutions as antiquated, and their character and

customs as little suited to promote their intellectual and material well-being. The most intelligent among them have long admitted the necessity of great reforms, and during the twenty years which immediately preceded the recent war, many beneficial changes were actually made, and the way was paved for others of greater moment. The credit of these ameliorations is chiefly due to Count Széchény, one of the noblest and best reformers of whom any age or country can boast. Having a princely fortune, an enterprising and generous disposition, and an intellect thoroughly cultivated by books and foreign travel, joining the enthusiasm and the perseverance of a reformer to the practical skill and tact of a statesman, and being both an accomplished writer and an eloquent and practised debater, he has accomplished so much for his country that she owes him a larger debt of gratitude than is due to all her sovereigns and warriors united. His first enterprise, commenced twenty years since, was an attempt to improve the navigation of the Danube, a work of immense importance, as we have shown, to the prosperity of the country. The obstructions in the river were so great, that only large rafts and some rude *bateaux* were sent down stream, to be broken up when they had once arrived at the Black Sea. Széchény built at his own expense a light and stout boat in which he descended the river himself, and ascertained that the rocks and rapids were not so formidable as had been supposed. He then organized a company for removing the greatest obstacles from the bed of the stream, and placing a line of steamboats upon it. The undertaking had complete success, and within one year the boats were plying regularly from Ratisbon to Vienna, and from Vienna to Constantinople. The enterprise excited great enthusiasm in Hungary; the Austrian government favored it, and contributed largely for its execution Metternich himself was pleased, and became one of the first stockholders, though he laughed at the boasting of the Magyars respecting it, "who thought they had invented the Danube."

This work made Széchény very popular; but as yet his countrymen regarded him only as an able engineer. He soon showed himself, however, a politician and publicist of the highest rank, by a number of pamphlets published in quick succession, advocating with great eloquence and ability some important changes in the constitution of the state and the relations between the peasants and the nobility. These pamphlets were the first productions of importance written, not in Latin or German, but in the Magyar tongue. Széchény knew his countrymen well, and was aware how much favor might be conciliated for his schemes by this innovation in language. His arguments were directed chiefly against the tithes, road-tax, duty-services, and other feu-

dal burdens on the land, and against the exemption of the nobility from taxation. He proposed to redeem the tithes and the road-tax by means of a national loan, after the example that had been successfully set in several of the German states. Following up warmly in the Diet the schemes which he had broached in his pamphlets, he soon had the satisfaction of finding himself at the head of a numerous and active party, both in the legislature and the country at large, who eagerly seconded his designs. The discussion was carried on with great spirit on both sides, and the interest which it excited threw all other subjects into the shade. "The old feudal edifice erected by St. Stephen, fortified by Andreas II., respected for three centuries by Austria, was to open its gates to a more powerful assailant, the spirit of the age." The Diet of 1836 adopted several of Széchény's proposed reforms; other steps in the same direction were taken by that of 1840; and the discussion of others was interrupted only by the thunder of the revolutions of Paris and Vienna. Among the many disastrous consequences of those great convulsions, perhaps the most lamentable of all was the interruption, the ruin, of Széchény's work of peaceful reform in Hungary.

The brilliant reputation which Széchény acquired was earned as much by his temperance, and his regard for justice and the rights of all, as by the boldness of the changes that he proposed. "I wish," he remarked, "to awaken my countrymen so that they may walk, and not that they may throw themselves out of the window." His popularity became immense. His name was in every mouth, and the counties vied with each other in sending him addresses of congratulation and rights of citizenship. When he arrived in any village, the peasants went out to meet him with music, and called him their father and liberator. The Diet of Transylvania sent him an entire gold pen several feet in length, and the national academy, the circle of nobility, and the institute of the Hungarian language, at the same time, elected him their president. His name was given to the first steamboat which glided down the lower Danube; and in every drawing room at Pesth, the stranger might see an engraving in which Széchény appeared in a sort of apotheosis surrounded by luminous clouds, while beneath Hungary was represented as coming out of chaos, and the Danube, covered by vessels of all nations, flowed on majestically, not fretted by rocks or rapids, towards the sea. It is afflicting to be obliged to add, that when, in 1848, Count Széchény saw his great work interrupted, his popularity overcast, his place usurped by demagogues and radicals of the lowest stamp, and his country wrapped in the flames of a civil war, the shock was too great for his reason, and he made an attempt

on his life. He threw himself into the Danube, whence he was rescued with difficulty, to be still preserved, let us hope, till he can again reap his reward from the returning reason of his countrymen.

It is much to the credit of the Austrian government, that although Széchény was the leader of the constitutional opposition in the Diet, it adopted nearly all his projects of reform, and submitted them, under the form of royal propositions, to be discussed by both houses.—Strange to say, also, these propositions were received with most favor in the upper house; many of the magnates, especially the younger ones, warmly welcomed the new ideas of progress and social reform.

The opposition to Széchény's plans proceeded chiefly from the inferior or untitled nobility, who feared that the overthrow of the ancient feudal constitution would also be the downfall of the inordinate privileges and political influence of their order. They were the only class who were benefitted by the retention of antiquated customs; the magnates, with their vast landed estates, and having the entire control of the upper house in the Diet, would still be predominant in the state, even if their feudal privileges should be swept away. But the lesser nobles, many of whom are quite poor, would have no more power than the burghers of the free cities, or the wealthier class of the emancipated peasants, if the historical ground should be taken away from them, and the abuses and inequalities of the feudal system abolished. The ancient constitution of Hungary was made, as we have seen, solely for the benefit of this class; in their favor, for the protection of their order, the Golden Bull of Andreas II. had been issued. Hitherto every one of their number had called himself a member of the crown of Hungary; he was a part of the sovereignty. Their idea of the constitution corresponded perfectly to Rousseau's definition of the government of Poland, "where the nobles are every thing, the burghers nothing, and the peasants less than nothing." Their only scheme of political conduct was to allow of no innovation in the ancient customs of the Magyars, and to manifest constant jealousy of the house of Austria, whose interests coincided with those of the oppressed peasants and of the subject races of the population, inasmuch as these ancient customs obstructed the political influence of all three. It suited the untitled nobles to declare, that they were contending for the ancient liberties of Hungary, when in fact they were opposing the emancipation of the peasants, and endeavoring to prevent the subject Sclavonians and Wallachians from breaking their chains.

It was natural, therefore, that while Széchény and the old liberal party, the constitutional opposition in the Diet, were gradually attracted towards the ministerialists because the ministry favored their plans

of social amelioration, a new and more radical party should be formed behind them, whose politics consisted merely in inflexible resistance to the crown, and in opposition to Austrian influence on all occasions. Count Bathiany was the first leader of this new party; but their course soon became too violent and excessive to be favored by any magnate, and his influence was superseded by that of Paul Nagy and Kossuth, two radical deputies who had become distinguished by their powers in debate. The latter of these is even a Magyar by birth,* who attended the Diet of 1836 in the very humble capacity of secretary of one of its members. He soon distinguished himself by *publishing* a *manuscript* journal of the proceedings, (a printed one being prohibited by the censorship,) which journal was actually copied by hand, and circulated in considerable numbers through the country. Some of his other publications transgressed the bounds of law more openly, so that he was apprehended and imprisoned for a time. When released, his popularity having grown through the persecution he had suffered, he was chosen a deputy, and became of course a more flaming patriot than ever. His extraordinary eloquence led captive the minds of his hearers, so that, after the revolution, he acquired the entire control of the Diet, and was finally appointed Supreme Dictator of Hungary during the war. In fact, Kossuth's party, ever since it was organized, has been endeavoring to effect a complete separation of Hungary from Austria, the preservation of feudal privileges and the domination of the Magyar race being of more importance in their eyes than the promotion of the commercial and other material interests of the country and the intellectual cultivation of its people. Széchény and his friends, on the other hand, aware that Hungary would be thrown into an isolated and semibarbarous position if cut off from its present political connection with central and western Europe, have aimed to secure the assistance of Austria in developing the resources of the kingdom, adapting its institutions to the spirit of the age, and diffusing intelligence and refinement among its inhabitants. This party, and the magnates generally, seem to have remained passive during the late revolutionary war; one of the Esterhazys is the only titled noble who appears to have acted with the insurgents.

The question of language has had more influence than any other on the politics of Hungary for the last thirty years. In a country where there was so great confusion of tongues, it was absolutely necessary that some one language should be chosen for a universal medium in matters of government and legislation. The Latin has long been

* Born in Jasz Bereny in 1807.

adopted for this purpose, its use having come down fro the Middle Ages, when it was the general medium of learning throughout Europe, and its preservation in Hungary so long after it was abandoned elsewhere being due to the rivalry of different nationalities, two or three of which have been offended by the selection of any living language. The Latin was neutral ground, on which the German, the Magyar, the Sclavonian, and the Wallachian could meet without cause of offence. Joseph II. of Austria, a philosophical schemer who projected many excellent reforms, but spoiled them all by an excessive love of system and uniformity, and by a want of tact and discretion in carrying them out, nearly caused a repellion in Hungary by undertaking to make the German language universal there; he required it to be used in all public acts, in all schools and seminaries of education, in civil offices, and in military command. The haughty Magyars had been already offended by the contempt he had manifested for their peculiar institutions; he had altered the organization of the *comitats*, or counties, those little federal republics first established by St. Stephen; he had refused to be crowned king of Hungary, and had even carried away the golden crown from Buda to Vienna; he had attempted to impose taxes on the nobles. These things they had borne, though sulkily; but when he attempted to supplant their language by the hated German, the spirit of the nation was effectually roused, and their resistance became so menacing that he was obliged to revoke all his reforms, and reëstablish Magyarism throughout Hungary. As he was not crowned at Buda, his acts were considered null, and they do not now appear on the statute book of the kingdom.*

The Magyars had thus vindicated the respect due to their own vernacular tongue, but they were not willing to respect the language and the national feeling of others. By constantly pressing the Austrian government on this point ever since 1800, they had at last succeeded in causing the Latin to be supplanted by the Magyar language in the deliberations of the Diet and in the acts of the government; this change was not consummated till 1844. The few Sclavonians in the legislature were still allowed, as of necessity, to address the assembly in Latin, and the government officials sometimes spoke German, though they risked their popularity by so doing. Having carried this point

* This wise, generous and most humane Monarch, emancipated also the peasants in Hungary from the oppression of their spiritual and corporal tyrants; he granted them free lands, &c.; but these humane acts were by the Magyars execrated and regarded as diabolical attempts directed against their feudal rights. The rebels addressed the Emperor in the following manner: "Josephe Secunde, Cæsar vagabunde, audaciam a patre, pertinaciam a matre, religionem unde accepisti, Josephe Secunde, Cæsar vagabunde."

against the imperialists, the Magyars attempted to impose their language upon the subject races, and to oblige them to use it upon all occasions. The schoolmasters and the clergy, in every province and every village, though it might be inhabited exclusively by Sclavonians and Wallachians, were ordered to teach and to preach only in the Magyar tongue. This law created great irritation everywhere, but especially in Croatia. This province is in the same situation with regard to Hungary, that Hungary holds in respect to Austria.—Together with its sister province of Sclavonia, it has a diet of its own, which meets at Agram, and is allowed to send three representatives to the general Hungarian Diet at Presburg or Pesth. The chief of these two provinces, who is styled the Ban of Croatia, holds the same relative position that the Palatine does in Hungary; he is responsible directly to the emperor, is chosen by the Croatian Diet, and claims to act independently of the Palatine. The Croats were very willing to abandon the Latin for the sake of their own language, but not for the purpose of speaking the Magyar. They echoed back with one voice the declaration of their Diet, *nolumus Magyarisari*. The national feeling was effectually roused on this subject, and the Hungarian law was reprobated as both insulting and injurious. The Slowacks of the north of Hungary united with them in resistance to the law; and the Sclavonians generally were attracted towards the emperor, and sought, by increasing the influence of Austria, to erect for themselves a barrier against the haughty dominion of the Magyars. Ever since 1830, the deputies of Croatia in the Hungarian Diet have acted with the Austrian ministry, and supported the propositions of the Crown.

The quarrel between the Magyars and the Croatians has brought out in strong relief the characteristics of the two races. Brave, high-spirited, and imperious, the former treated the complaints of their ancient subjects, as they consider them, with scorn, and heaped new provocations on them just at the moment when they were bringing upon themselves a desperate conflict with Austria. More patient and politic, the Croatians took measures to secure the aid both of the emperor and of the Russians before they threw defiance in the teeth of the Magyars. Kollar, Gaj, and Jellachich had skillfully excited their national feelings, and they acted together with great firmness and unanimity. They exposed very fully the inconsistency of the Magyars, who thought it natural and right to enfranchise themselves from all foreign dominion, and to reconquer their individuality as a nation and a race; but who were astonished and indignant, that the Illyrians and the Wallachians, living within the borders of Hungary, should experience the same desire and cherish the same hopes. The Croatians held high

and menancing language to compel the emperor to espouse their quarrel. In a memorial addressed to him before hostilities had broken out, they exclaimed, "Emperor, if you reject our prayers, we shall know how to vindicate our liberty without you; and we prefer to die heroically, like a Sclavonian people, rather than to bear any longer such a yoke as is imposed upon us by an Asiatic horde, from whom we have nothing good to receive or to learn. Emperor, know that we prefer, if we must choose between them, the knout of the Russians to the insolence of the Magyars. We will not, on any terms, belong to the Magyars. Remember that, if Croatia forms but a thirty-fifth part of your empire, the Croatians constitute a third of your whole infantry."

As a farther illustration of the spirit of the people at this time, we give a translation of a Sclavonian song, written by one of their patriots, which obtained great popularity throughout the Illyrian provinces:

"Whoever is a Sclavonian and a hero, let him wave his banner in the air! let him gird on his sabre, and mount his fiery steed. Forward, brothers! God is with us, and the devils are our enemies.

"See how the black and savage Tartar is treading our nation and our language under foot. Let us resist before he prostrates us. Forward, brothers! God is with us, and the devils are our enemies.

"Let the brave Sclavonian of the North and the Illyrian of the South join hands at this festival. Behold already the gleam of their lances, hear the sound of the trumpets and the thunder of the cannon. Forward, brothers! God is with us, and the devils are our enemies.

"The time is come to wash ourselves in the blood of our enemies. Let each one, then, strike down a head. Forward, brothers! God is with us, and the devils are our enemies."

The Sclavonians were not the only enemies within the bosom of their country whom the Magyars provoked. The Germans, who had founded cities in the interior, establishing themselves as commercial and manufacturing colonists in the midst of this rude and warlike agricultural population, were made to feel their isolated positon, and the arrogance of the aristocratic masters of the soil around them. The lines of separation between the heterogeneous races were preserved with Jewish scrupulousness; each has retained its language, features, dress, and occupation unchanged for centuries. The situation of the Germans is most peculiar in the extreme eastern and south-eastern provinces, in Transylvania and the Banat. Here they are surrounded by the rude and fierce Szeklers, a race who are born soldiers, allied in blood and language to the Magyars, whom they preceded a century or two in the occupation of the country. Their banner is indicative of their character; it bears a heart pierced through and through with a sword. Amid this half-barbarous people, in a rugged and mountainous country at the extreme limit of European civilization towards the

east, a colony from the heart of Germany was established in the course of the twelfth century; and in spite of the disadvantages of their situation, they have increased in numbers and wealth. Their blood is still as pure as when they first left the fatherland; their fresh and smiling German faces, their fair hair and light complexion, indicate their origin as clearly, as do their prudent and economical habits, and their dogged industry. These grave and honest burghers are republicans by descent and in predilection; they reject all aristocracy, and choose their magistrates by universal suffrage. In many respects they remind one of the flourishing commercial towns of the Middle Ages; like them, they are guarded with high walls and strong fortifications against the semi-barbarous people without, who are all warriors, and who are organized like a camp on the frontiers. If need be, these flourishing citizens will fight stoutly in defence of the walls which guard their shops and their homes.

The Magyars, Szeklers, and the Germans formed a treaty at Torda in the fifteenth century, to divide Transylvania between them—the two former to do all the fighting, and the latter to keep the cities and strongholds. They are the three sovereign nations, as they call themselves, though they number all together less than a million; while the subject nations, most of whom are Wallachans, amount to a million and a half. These had no part in the union of Torda, which united the three races, and therefore are allowed no political or civil rights.—They cannot elect their magistrates, nor fill public offices; they are serfs, and cultivate the fields of their masters. The Magyars, though so few in number, helped themselves to three-fourths of the soil of Transylvania; the north and the west, including Carlsbourg, the capital, are theirs. The Germans, or Saxons as they are here called, hold the flourishing cities of Cronstadt and Hermanstadt, with the rich territory in the south, and the district of Bistritz in the north. Their towns were originally fortified not more against the Turks than against the Magyars; and they have just had renewed occasion to use them against these foes, whose desperate valor, however, was not repelled by them. Naturally attached to Germany and to republican institutions, they saw with dismay, after the grand democratic outbreak of 1848, that the Magyars were separating all Hungary from Austria, with a view of preserving their own aristocratic institutions, and lording it more imperiously than ever over the other races that inhabited the land. They immediately sent a delegate to the federative Congress at Frankfort to ask for aid and protection; but the theorists in this distracted assembly had neither troops nor money to send them, and they were left to their fate—to the arrogance of the Magyars whom they

had offended by this step, and to the ruthless hostility of the Szeklers. The following is an extract from the address sent by the municipality of Hermanstadt, on the 9th of June, 1848, through their delegate to the Frankfort Assembly.

"German brothers, seven centuries ago, a branch of the nationa tree, the gigantic oak of Germany, was planted in the oriental valleys of the Carpathian mountains; its extended roots have penetrated to the soil of the fatherland, and continually drawn nourishment from it. The air and the light of Germany have continued to warm and to cheer us. In the midst of the aristocratic and feudal institutions of the other races which threaten to stifle our civilization, we have remained German citizens. Yes, brothers; in spite of the local separation, we have preserved with old German fidelity the manners and the language of our common ancestors. At the moment when the European edifice is everywhere crumbling into ruin, the legislator, like Archimedes, needs a fixed point on which to rest and sustain the world. This point has been found. Let the German fatherland extend to every region where the German language is spoken. With our whole hearts we will join you in causing our national airs to resound from the banks of the Vistula to those of the Rhine. The children have not forgotten their mother, the mother has not forgotten her children. Generous voices have spoken in the imperial city, in this very assembly, in favor of maintaining the rights of Transylvanian Germany; we wish, indeed, that our great and powerful fatherland had used a bolder tone, and not restricted itself to entreating the little nation of Magyars, but had ordered it to respect the German nationality."

In this general turmoil, the Wallachians, also, were moved to demand a restoration of those rights, the common rights of humanity, of which they had been deprived for centuries. Some of the younger members of the Greek clergy inspired them with a generous ambition, and taught them to shake impatiently the yoke of subjection and helotism which had so long weighed upon their necks. The example of their brethren across the frontier, also, in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, who had recently driven off some of their petty local tyrants, had given them new ideas of freedom and new hopes of ameliorating their situation by their own efforts. They made common cause with the republican Germans, and contributed not a little to distract the attention and divide the forces of the Magyar insurgents.

The war in Hungary, then, was by no means so simple an affair as most persons have imagined. It was not a combined effort of the whole people of a subjugated province striving to regain their national independence. Hungary never was conquered by Austria; but she sought and continued the alliance as a means of protection against the

Turks, and of commercial and political union with central and western Europe. It was not a republican movement, or the rising of the lower classes in the state against the higher, with a view of securing a more equal distribution of political rights and social advantages. Republicanism was never pretended by the Magyars, and is not even mentioned in their Declaration of Independence. It was an attempt on the part of the Magyar untitled nobility, 600,000 in number, to preserve the ancient feudal constitution of the state, which guarantied their aristocratic privileges and the dominion of their race, against the liberal constitution granted by the emperor of Austria, which destroyed all distinctions of rank and race, and established the modern ideas of equal representation, equal suffrage, the freedom of the press, and the liberty of individuals, on the ruins of feudalism.

In the general *mêlée* that ensued, each party and race fought on its own hook; each formed alliances and sought support with a view only to the exigences of the moment, and without the slighest reference to the political and social doctrines of those whose aid they invoked, and whose cause they really subserved. The Magyars, aristocrats in a double sense, both as an order and a race, and now in arms to preserve their obsolete feudal institutions, made common cause with the Red Republicans of Vienna, who, like their brethren throughout Europe, aimed simply at the inversion of the old order of things, and the utter destruction of all existing forms of society and government. The Croats and other Sclavonians, democratic in their instincts and purposes, fought gallantly to assist the emperor of Austria in crushing the insurgent nobility of Hungary. The republican German burghers of Transylvania united themselves first with the Wallachian serfs whose petition for emancipation they had just rejected, and then invited the Russians into the country to protect them from the merciless hostility of the Magyars and the Szeklers. At their call, Russia hastened to help them, and acted with magnanimity and forbearance; she entered Hungary only at the request and under the obligation of humanity, to protect the helpless Germans and Wallachians; her army crushed the insurrection by one decisive blow, and then, although the country was entirely in her power, and the Sclavonians, who form more than half of its population, would gladly have become her subjects, she has quietly withdrawn her troops without making any demand for the expenses of the war, or any stipulation for her own territorial aggrandizement.

This statement of the case will take most persons in this country by surprise; for deceived by the prose dithyrambics of Kossuth, by the romantic history, chivalrous daring, and theatrical garb and man-

ner of the Magyars, and by the prodigious lies of the ultra republican press in Germany, which spread a fresh report of the utter annihilation of the Austrian and Russian armies once a fortnight, we had generally come to believe, that the republican cause in Europe depended on the success of the insurrection in Hungary, and that this cause was almost sure to succeed from the unparalleled bravery and activity of the Magyars. The newspapers here attacked the American President with severity, because he did not immediately recognize the independence of Hungary, and send out a special minister to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the gallant insurgents. It is true, that we can never have any intercourse or connection with this isolated country in the east of Europe, which has not a single seaport, any more than with the Cham of Tartary; but this fact is of no importance in the eyes of those who believe that the spirit of propagandism is the essence of republican institutions. But the cause of the Magyars was bad; they sought to defend their antiquated feudal institutions, and their unjust and excessive privileges as an order and a race, against the incursion of the liberal ideas and the reformatory spirit of the nineteenth century.

We can notice only very briefly a few incidents in the history of the struggle which illustrate those peculiarities in the internal condition of Hungary that we have endeavored to point out. When the revolution of March at Vienna, and the flight of Metternich, had seemingly dissolved the Austrian empire, and left each of its component parts to crystallize into new forms under its own internal affinities, as many distinct revolutionary movements were made as there were different races which had hitherto acknowledged the authority of the emperor. The people of Venice and Lombardy threw off all connection with Germany, and sought a union with the Italian patriots throughout the peninsula. The radical party in the Hungarian Diet at once obtained the ascendancy, and decreed that Hungary in future should have an independent administration and a separate ministry, including even a department for foreign affairs; that is, it decided to retain all the advantages, but to acknowledge none of the reciprocal obligations, of its connection with Austria. Hard as these conditions were, they were accepted without remonstrance by the terrified and powerless imperial government. The two races who form the population of Bohemia broke out into open hostilities against each other; the Czechs or Sclavonians, numbering nearly three millions, sought to avenge themselves for the long subjection in which they had been held by the Germans, who are hardly half as numerous. They demanded, among other things, that the two races should be admitted to an equality of

political rights, and that all public officers should be required to speak both languages. The Emperor instantly granted all they asked. The Czechs of Moravia and Silesia joined the movement, and a call was issued for a grand congress, to meet at Prague on the 31st of May, to take measures for establishing Sclavonic independence on a firm basis.

Meanwhile, the Croatians and other Sclavonians of the south were not idle. The Ban Jellachich invited all the Austro-Sclavonic countries to send delegates to a Diet to be held at Agram, on the 5th of June; he also opened communications with Count Leo Thun, the leader of the Czech party in Bohemia, and proposed to act in concert with him in all measures intended to promote the emancipation and welfare of the race to which they both belonged. But the headlong zeal of the Bohemian Sclavonians wellnigh made shipwreck of the whole affair. They established an independent provisional government on the 29th of May; but the ministry at Vienna denounced this provisional government, and Prince Windischgrätz, then the Austrian governor of Prague, encouraged by the German citizens who rallied around him, took a firm stand in opposition to the revolutionists, and expostulated with them on their mad proceedings. The Sclavonians were roused to fury, and a mob of them having beset his palace, a conflict ensued, and the Princess Windischgrätz was killed by a musket shot. The bereaved husband still remonstrated with them in mild language, but instead of listening to him, they pressed forward yet more eagerly, and attempted to seize him as a hostage. The troops then interfered, and after a short but sharp conflict, the rioters were driven back, and Windischgrätz left the city with his forces, and took post on the neighboring heights. There he was soon joined by Count Mensdorff with troops from Vienna, and as the insurgents continued obstinate, he commenced bombarding the city on the 15th of June. In two days, the greater part of Prague was laid in ashes, and the Czechs were compelled to surrender. Then, of course, the Sclavonian congress and the provisional government were dissolved; and both races in Bohemia, exhausted by the conflict and pained by the desolation it had caused, resumed their allegiance to the emperor, and waited for the gradual development of political reform.

During the short ascendency of the Czechs, they had induced or compelled the government at Vienna to admit one of their leaders, Palazky, into the imperial ministry. The pride of the Magyars took fire at this concession to the Sclavonian race, and Count Bathiany, their envoy at Vienna, remonstrated in strong terms against the measure, as it tended to encourage the Slowacks, who were already in rebellion in the north of Hungary. On the other hand, Jellachich

and the Croatians supported Palazky. The emperor, who, in the middle of May, had secretly left his capital and taken refuge at Innspruck, temporized at first; but as the conduct of the Czechs at Prague grew more outrageous, he became more hostile to the Sclavonian cause, and summoned the Ban to meet him in the Tyrol, and to give an account of his conduct. Jellachich not only refused, but attended the Sclavonian Diet which he had called at Agram, where he was formerly elected Ban by that assembly, having hitherto held his office by imperial appointment. The Emperor then denounced him as a rebel, and ordered him to be deprived of all his offices and titles; the Austrian Marshal Hrabowsky, with a considerable body of troops, was sent to enforce these commands by the invasion of Crotia and Sclavonia. The cities of Carlowitz and Neustadt were immediately invested by the Marshal, and compelled to surrender, the former after a severe bombardment.

The cause of the Sclavonians now seemed hopeless, and but for the politic conduct of Jellachich and his advisers, their race would probably have been reduced to their former political insignificance and subjection. Threatened by the Magyars, and actually invaded by the Austrians, the insurrection of the Czechs being entirely suppressed, and that of the Slowacks being too feeble and isolated to afford any material aid to the Croatians, the cause was lost if the latter could not effect a compromise with one of the parties now in arms against them. The haughty and warlike Magyars would make no terms with those whom they regarded as their revolted subjects, whom they had ruled with absolute dominion for ten centuries. A conference between Jellachich and Bathiany at Vienna, in July, 1848, only showed that the hostility of the two races was implacable. When they separated, the latter exclaimed, "We shall meet again on the Drave," the northern boundary of Croatia; "No," answered Jellachich, "but on the Danube." The Ban then proceeded to Innspruck, where he satisfied his royal master, that his countrymen would gladly continue their allegiance to the house of Austria, if they should be allowed to retain their language, and to enjoy those rights which the emperor had promised to all his subjects. To contend against them, he said, was only to assist the Magyars; for if subdued, they must become subjects of Hungary, which country now retained only a nominal connection with the empire. The Magyars were the common enemies of the imperialists and the Croatians; they asserted their independence of the former, while striving to rivet their chains upon the latter. To adopt the cause of the Croatians would be to conciliate all the Sclavonians, who formed more than half of the population of the empire;

while the Magyars numbered but little over four millions, and were hated alike by Wallachians, Germans, and Sclavonians, at the same time that they were disloyal to the emperor.

These reasons being conclusive, the emperor did not hesitate to unite the imperial forces with the Croatians and to commission the Ban Jellachich himself, to put down the insurrection in Hungary. This arrangement, however, was kept secret for a time, to await the result of negotiation with the Magyars. But this haughty and imperious race waited for no compromise, and their spirits only rose as the number of their enemies increased. Their Diet voted an extraordinary contribution of a hundred millions of florins, a levy of two hundred thousand men, and an issue of two hundred millions of paper money. It was also proposed to recall the Hungarian regiments that were serving under Radetsky in Lombardy; but Kossuth cried out "Beware what you do! They are Croats and Sclavonians whom you wish to recall." The old liberal party of the constitutional opposition in the Diet, led by such men as Széchény and Deak, and even Bathiany, who was far more radical in his politics, protested against these headlong proceedings, and recommended delay and negotiation; but the danger was imminent, the excitement was intense, and as usual in such cases, the fanatics and ultraists, headed by Kossuth and Szémereé, carried every thing their own way. It was when defeated in debate on this occasion, that the noble Széchény, seeing that his influence was lost, and the fate of his country was sealed by the madness of its demagogues, made an attempt upon his own life. The magnates generally abandoned the cause at this crisis; they would not fight against their countrymen, but neither could they lead them onwards to certain destruction. They retired to their estates, or left the country. Kossuth and the untitled nobles, assisted by the peasants of their race, alone provoked the contest; and never did a large body of men fight more gallantly in support of an unwise, unjust, and desperate undertaking.

Their situation, indeed, was perilous in the extreme. Early in September, 1848, Jellachich took the command of all the imperial troops in Croatia and Sclavonia, the Austrian Marshal Hrabowsky quietly resigning his post to him, and prepared to cross the Drave and march upon Pesth. The venerable Greek patriarch Raiachich, putting aside his sacred functions for a time, led an irregular force of brave but untrained Sclavonian volunteers, collected from the borders of the Banat, to lay waste the country of the Magyars in the south-east. The Slowacks were in arms in the north; and the Wallachians of Transylvania threatened an insurrection in the east. The Diet of this province, in which the Magyars and Szeklers formed a large majority, had just

voted, it is true, to make common cause with Hungary; but the Saxons, far from joining in this vote, were outraged by it; and the irritated Wallachians, forming more than half of the whole population, made the opposition in this quarter still more formidable. A regiment of them, hastily conducted by their Magyar officers as far as Szegedin, suddenly halted, wheeled about, and marched back again to their mountains. To this circle of foes the Magyars as yet could oppose only a few regiments of cavalry, for the Hungarian infantry was chiefly made up of Sclavonians, and time was required to bring together and discipline the great levy which the Diet had decreed, and which soon became "the insurrection." To gain time for raising these forces, and to avenge the defection of the emperor from their cause, the Magyars resolved to wage war against him in his own capital.

The radicals at Vienna formed hardly a tenth part of the constituent assembly; but they had on their side the dregs of the populace, and the "academical legion," composed not only of the youth of the university, but of Polish, Italian, and German refugees, the reckless Free Companions of the revolutionary cause throughout Europe.—Some who had manned the barricades of June at Paris came to fight against the emperor at Vienna in September. The grave citizens, the *bourgeoisie*, who dreaded a recurrence of the confusion and anarchy of the preceding spring, and therefore had welcomed their sovereign when he returned from Innspruck, regarded the signs of another insurrection with dismay, but had not spirit and bravery enough to protect themselves against a desperate faction. The Magyars determined to agitate these elements of sedition and civil war, and thus to give the imperialist troops employment at home for a while, till the means of resistance could be organized in Hungary; and the offer of their aid from without was eagerly accepted by the revolutionists within the city. A deputation from the Hungarian Diet came to Vienna on the 10th of September, to make known their demands to the emperor, which were that he should approve their recent votes tor raising men and money, should again denounce Jellachich and the Sclavonians as rebels, and should come to take up his residence at Pesth among Magyars, so as to give a visible and undoubted sanction to their proceedings. These demands being refused, the deputation, one hundred and sixty in number, sullenly withdrew; and when they had reached the steamer, they tore down the Austro-Hungarian colors, raised the *red* flag, and returned down the Danube. The color adopted was a significant one, and it excited so much indignation at Presburg, the former place of meeting of the Magyar Diet, that the boat was fired at from the bank. But both at Vienna and at Pesth, the populace greeted it

with shouts. Another deputation, sent a week afterwards to the constituent assembly at Vienna, was refused an audience; and the indignant Magyars instantly proclaimed Kossuth dictator with full powers, and sent out forces to meet Jellachich, who had already crossed the Drave. Yet the emperor made one other attempt at pacification, though it was obvious that the hour had passed. Count Lamberg, a marshal of the empire, was sent to Pesth with full powers to treat and to take command of the forces. The count bravely set out on foot from Buda, without an escort, to cross the river and hold a conference with the Diet in Pesth. But he was arrested by a furious mob on the bridge, and though he claimed protection as a minister of peace between the emperor and Kossuth, he was brutally murdered, and his remains were treated with shocking indignity.

The crisis had now arrived, and important events succeeded each other with great rapidity. The emperor issued a proclamation denouncing Kossuth and his partisans, dissolving the Diet, annulling its previous acts, proclaiming martial law throughout Hungary, and appointing the Ban Jellachich commander of all the imperial forces there, with full powers as royal commissioner. Some of the troops then at Vienna were ordered to march to the assistance of Jellachich; but when they attempted to leave the city, the insurrection, fed with supplies of men and money by the Magyars, broke out with great violence. The national assembly was overawed, the emperor was again obliged to fly, Count Latour, the minister of war, was murdered and his body was hung up for hours as a target for the insurgents to fire at, and *terrorism* was again triumphant in Vienna. The Czechs of Bohemia, so recently subdued by the cannon of Windischgrätz, now joined hands with their brother Sclavonians from Croatia; they adopted the emperor's cause with enthusiasm, and invited him to transfer his residence to his loyal city of Prague, where every other house had been half ruined by his artillery. Prince Windischgrätz, with his ranks recruited from these reconciled subjects of the empire, moved up his army to assist Von Auersperg in the investment of Vienna; and Jellachich, already advanced half way in his northward course from the Drave towards Pesth, turned quickly to the northwest, and, passing by Raab, came to interpose with his corps between the city and the succor which the insurgents had been led to expect from Hungary. The Magyar "insurrection" was not yet brought into the field and organized, so that but few troops could be sent to the assistance of the Viennese; and these came late, and were easily defeated and driven back by the Ban. Kossuth, it must be confessed, made politic use of his radical friends in the capital; their outbreak, into which he had in-

cited them, gave employment for several weeks to three armies of the imperialists, which would otherwise have been immediately directed upon Hungary, where they would have crushed the rebellion before its forces were developed. The interval afforded by the seige of Vienna was employed by the Magyars in collecting their forces, and forming their plans for the desperate struggle which was to come. Vienna was taken by assault on the 31st of October,* Blum and Messenhauser, two leaders of the insurgents, were shot, and a third, Bem, the celebrated Polish refugee, escaped only by taking the place of a corpse in a bier, and was carried out of the gates by the funeral procession.—Faithful to his profession as a military propagandist of the revolutionary cause in many lands, Bem hastened to offer his services to the Magyars, and received the command of their forces in Transylvania. Windischgrätz and Jellachich led their forces down the Danube to the capture of Pesth, and the war in Hungary was fairly begun.

Even at this late hour, had the Magyars been willing to adopt a conciliatory policy, and to promise to the Croats and other Sclavonians that they should be admitted to an equality of civil and political rights with themselves, should be allowed to speak their own language, to elect their own provincial rulers, and to be represented in the national Diet in proportion to their numbers, the whole population of Hungary, including its dependent provinces, might have been united in arms, and Austria must have withdrawn her forces in despair. A country inhabited by fourteen millions of people, unanimous in their desire to be free, could never have been subdued by armies from without. So strongly were the Polish refugees impressed with this truth, that they repeatedly urged Kossuth and his party to negotiate with the Croatians; Dembinski, their ablest general, had quitted Paris on the stipulated condition with the agent of Hungary, who had been sent to ask his aid and that of his exiled countrymen, that the Magyars should consent to make a treaty with the Sclavonians, and guarantee to them their local liberties and their nationality. Uniting his influence with that of Bem, for the Poles, being themselves a Sclavonic race, were all anxious to unite their Croatian and Slowack brethren with them in hostility to Austria, he succeeded in causing the forces of the insurgents to be denominated the Magyar-Sclavonic army. But this was the whole concession which they were able to extort from their

* The people of Vienna afterwards avenged themselves by caricatures on the Magyars, who had promised to die for the German democracy, and had done so little to keep their word. One print represented a member of the Academical Legion, on the top of the tower of St. Stephen's, turning a telescope towards Hungary, and saying, "I do not see that anybody is coming."

allies. The Magyars were fighting to support the old dominion of their race and the ancient constitution of Hungary, which secured to them, though they were less than four and a half millions in number, the entire control of a country peopled by fourteen millions. To make terms with Jellachich would be to give up the whole object of the war; for the union with Austria had never been felt by them as a burden, and ever since the Vienna revolution of March, 1848, that union had been merely nominal. With an independent Diet, an independent ministry, and a Palatine elected by themselves, they could dictate their own terms to the crippled and distracted empire; and of their own accord, they had kept up for six months an apparent connection with it, as both their political and commercial interests would have suffered from an absolute separation. The war had originated in September, in what they called "the rebellion" of the Croatians, the Slowacks, the Wallachians, and the Saxon colonists of Transylvania; and some time elapsed before Austria became fairly involved in it by espousing the cause of "the Sclavons." Consequently, the first object of the Magyars was to crush their internal foes; while the Polish exiles, their allies, sought only to avenge their country's ancient wrongs by destroying the Austrian empire, and even menacing the Czar. This division of purpose caused a division also of the forces of the insurgents. In the south and east, Bem and Dembinski commanded each a separate partisan corps, a motley collection of exiles, deserters, and fugitives of whatever race; for as these generals had no antipathy to the other Hungarian races, they sought to entice as many of them as possible to their own standards, and to wage a war of extermination against those who continued to act with the enemy. The main body of the Magyars, being thus protected in their rear and on their flanks from the Sclavonic, Wallachian, and Saxon insurgents, were free to act under Görgey, a general of their own race, against the forces of the Austrians, whom they would probably have overmatched, if the impolitic and ruthless conduct of Bem had not afforded a pretence for the emperor Nicholas to enter into the conflict.

We cannot follow in detail the history of the war, and can notice but briefly the circumstances which led to the most important event in it, the intervention of Russia. Nowhere was the outbreak of actual hostilities regarded with more dismay than in Transylvania. The unhappy Saxons and Wallachians found themselves exposed to the utmost fury of the Magyars and Szeklers, while, by their isolated position in the east, they were deprived of all hope of succor from Austria and the west of Germany. The great central plain of Hungary was occupied by the Magyar "insurrection," now developed to

its full extent; Jellachich and his Croatians in the south had now enough to do to defend themselves. Central Hungary is traversed by two great rivers, the Danube and the Theiss, running from north to south, and forming excellent successive lines of defence. Far in the west, the imperialist army had to cross this vast and defensible plain, admirably suited for the operations of cavalry, in which the chief strength of the Hungarians consisted, and to vanquish the whole Magyar nation, before they could throw troops into Transylvania. The first object of Kossuth was to put down with great severity all opposition in this province, so that the Magyars might be protected in their rear, and, if necessary, might retreat safely in that quarter into a woody and mountainous region. Bands of the fierce and warlike Szeklers were therefore sent out in all directions, who hunted the unarmed Wallachian peasants like wolves, and menaced the fortified cities of the Saxons. Terror everywhere prevailed, as the Austrian general Puchner, who commanded in the province, had only a few troops, who could offer no serious defence. The grave German burghers were unused to war, and the Wallachians were an unarmed and undisciplined crowd.

But a hasty attempt was made to organize their means of protection. A junto of government was formed, under the presidency of Puchner, consisting of two deputies from the Saxon cities, and the Greek bishop Schaguna, who, with a rich merchant, named Argidau, represented the Wallachians. The district of Bistritz, in the north, was already in possession of the enemy, and such forces as this junto could collect were drawn together to cover Cronstadt and Hermanstadt in the south. Against these cities, in January, 1849, General Bem, who had left his coffin, advanced at the head of 10,000 men, composed of Poles, Szeklers, Kossuth's hussars, and a few Wallachians incorporated by compulsion with their enemies. He marched rapidly through the duchy, ravaging and burning on his way the Wallachian villages and Saxon settlements in the upper country, and driving the few Austrian troops towards Hermanstadt. Fugitives coming from every quarter, and driving before them their wearied beasts and flocks, sought refuge in this city; looking back from its walls, they could see the smoke of their burning villages, and fancy that they heard the cries of the aged and the feeble, who had fallen on the road, and were now suffering all the extremities of civil war from the savage Szeklers. As Bem's object was to terrify the poor Wallachian peasants into inaction during the war, and as their former degraded condition and their use of a different language caused his men to regard them hardly as human beings, though they were to be

punished as runaway and contumacious serfs, the atrocities committed by his army almost exceed belief. An English officer, who was taken prisoner by him at Clausenburg, and detained for weeks under a constantly repeated threat of being tried by a drumhead court martial and shot, gives a vivid account of the barbarity of his troops.

"At Marosvasarhély," he writes, "in the prison where I slept, a Wallachian priest and his nephew were murdered at my side; the soldiers had been ordered to conduct them to Debreczin, but they wished to save themselves this trouble. Six Saxons had the same fate, and were shot down by the soldiers who had been detailed to guard them. But few detachments of prisoners arrived at their destination; they were generally murdered in some defile. On the morning of the 12th of March, while passing through the last forest which separated us from the frontier, we suddenly heard a volley of musketry; a quarter of an hour afterwards, we came to an opening in the woods, where I found the bodies, still warm, of seventeen Wallachians. The Szeklers who had just shot them joined my escort, and when asked if their prisoners had given them any cause of complaint, 'No, truly,' answered one of them; 'but thank God, there are now alive seventeen Wallachians less than there were yesterday.'"

We may imagine how much consternation was created by the appearance of Bem's army before Hermanstadt, the fortifications of which, once strong, were now quite capable of resisting an attack.— The dismayed Saxons sent an urgent request to General Luder, who commanded a small Russian army in the neighboring principality, that he would hasten to their protection. Bishop Schagum and Professor Grottfried hastened to Bucharest, that they might represent to the Russian commander the imminent peril in which the city was placed.— They urged that they were cut off from all communication with the Austrian government, and in view of the massacre of their countrymen and the pillage of their towns, they appealed to the generosity of their neighbors to protect them. They solicited a purely local intervention, as neither government as yet had solicited or offered a more general coöperation of their forces. Puchner at first refused to join in this application, but finally sanctioned it when the peril seemed more imminent. Common humanity, or the secret orders of his government, which might have anticipated this conjuncture of events, may have induced Luder to grant the succor that was asked. At any rate, on the 1st of February, General Engelhardt, at the head of 10,000 Russians, entered Transylvania, and occupied both Hermanstadt and Cronstadt. The Austrian ministry were so far from being pleased at this event, that they despatched a courier with orders to prevent the admission of the Russians; and when he came too late, another was

sent to urge them to withdraw. Elated by the first rapid success of the imperialists, by the capture of Pesth and the withdrawal of the Magyars to the line of the Theiss, the Austrians thought they should be able to end the war without foreign aid. But the desperate valor of the Hungarians soon changed the current of events; and when his armies were driven back on all sides, and even Vienna was menaced, the emperor himself was compelled to solicit that aid which he had at first rebuked his subjects for asking. One of the earliest reverses of fortune was caused by the insufficiency of Engelhardt's detachment to protect the whole Saxon district in the south of Transylvania.

When the Russians first entered Hermanstadt, Bem was deceived by an exaggerated report of their strength, and he retired into the mountains of the Szeklers. On learning his mistake, and that the Russian force was divided, he appeared again before the city and offered battle, which was accepted by Puchner and Engelhardt. The impetuosity of Bem's troops, and a want of concert between the Austrians and Russians, gave the honor of the day to the former, though the Russians retreated in good order to Hermanstadt. But as they had found that their number was too small to effect any thing important, and the coldness of the Austrian ministry in respect to them had excited a natural resentment, they determined the next day to evacuate the city and to leave Transylvania. This determination threw the citizens into despair, and the weaker part of the population resolved, as the only mode of escaping the extremities of war, to remove along with the Russians into Wallachia. A numerous train of country vehicles of all sorts were hastily laden with their most precious effects, and a crowd of old men, women, and children, some on foot, and some riding on the overladen carts, prepared to go forth, under the escort of these foreigners, to exile and beggary, rather than to await their barbarous conquerors. It was still the depth of winter; the roads were encumbered with ice and snow, and a narrow and difficult defile along the river Aluta was to be passed before the fugitives could arrive at Kinien, the nearest village of Wallachia. The pass was a famous one; by this route, in former years, war and pestilence had passed from Turkey into Transylvania. After many alarms and much suffering, the fugitives arrived at Kinien late at night, and were received by the garrison of Russians and Turks with much hospitality. The officers gave up their tents and their beds to the women and chlldren, the sick and the wounded received every attention, and all had leisure to reflect on the homes which they had left, and the beggary that awaited them. The fate of those who remained in Hermanstadt was pitiable indeed. Bem gave up the city to the utmost license of his troops for three

whole days; those who were found bearing arms were shot, and others, who had joined in the request to the Russian commander, were brought before a council of war. The terror created by the inhuman conduct of Bem's army had the desired effect; he experienced no more opposition from the inhabitants of Transylvania, and was able to extend his incursions into the Banat, and to coöperate with the troops who were acting against Jellachich.

The loss of Transylvania, and the recapture of Buda-Pesth by the Magyars, with other reversals of fortune, determined the Emperor to seek that intervention which he had but recently rejected. On the other hand, the Emperor Nicholas was anxious to retrieve the credit of his army, which had suffered from the battle with Bem, and the retreat from Hermanstadt. The terms of coöperation being soon adjusted, the ablest marshal of the Russian army entered Hungary at the head of an imposing force, and from that moment the issue of the contest was really decided; the gallantry of the Magyars might protract the struggle, but could give no hope of ultimate success. They had provoked too many enemies; of the half a dozen races which make up the mixed population of the Austrian empire, every one was hostile to them.—Their pride and indomitable obstinacy prevented them from making any attempt at conciliation; and Görgey, their last and ablest commander, rather than unite his troops with those of Dembinski, who had made some concessions and promises to the Sclavonians, and thereby partially recruited his ranks from them, preferred to surrender his whole army without conditions to the Russians. The Magyars have fallen, and there are few to lament their fate but the Red Republicans of France and Germany, and the refugee Poles, who were their only foreign allies. They have fallen in an unwise attempt to preserve their ancient feudal institutions, their supremacy as a race, and their national independence against the reforms demanded by the spirit of the age, against the equality of political rights which could no longer be refused to their ancient subjects, and against the union with Austria which is a necessity of their geographical position.

They had always regarded the Sclavonians and Wallachians with contempt, and Kossuth with his peculiar magniloquence was wont to say, that "Croatia was only a breakfast for Hungary." In their fury, they brutally murdered Count Lamberg, the imperial commissioner who had gone to Pesth to try the last chance at an accommodation; and they resolved to punish the emperor by making common cause with the radicals at Vienna, so as to wage war against him in his own capital. It was even a violent shift of policy for the aristocratic and domineering Magyars to strike hands with the Red Republicans, Gip-

sies, Jews, Socialists and Brigands,*—Janissaries of the revolutionary cause throughout Europe. But in truth, there was no other class or race remaining with whom an alliance was open to them. No people on the continent had shown themselves so strongly affected by the pride of race, or had put forward the claims of its own nationality in so haughty and offensive a manner. The consequence was, that they had made bitter enemies of all the other races around them, of those who should have been their associates and firmest friends.

It is not necessary to review again the incidents of the war, nor even to look closely into the grounds of the hostility of the other Hungarian races to the Magyars. It is enough for our purpose to show,—what is evident, indeed, on the very face of the affair,—that *not a single reason can be alleged to justify the insurrection of the Magyars against Austria, but it does, in a far greater degree, justify the revolt of all the Sclavonian and Wallachian tribes against the Magyars.* In Croatia and Sclavonia, there was no Magyar population; and what right had these half Europeanized Asiatics to hold these provinces any longer in chains, when they invoke in their own favor, against Austria, the revolutionary right of each distinct nationality to self-government? What pretence had they for laying waste Transylvania with fire and sword, for hunting the poor Wallachian peasants like wolves, and driving the German colonists into exile in Turkey, which could not also justify whatever excesses the Austrians have committed in their own fair land, down to the compelling of Kossuth, Bem, and their associates to take refuge among the very Moslems who had formerly sheltered their victims? It may be said, indeed, that the Transylvanian Diet, at the beginning of the war, voted to make common cause with the Magyars. It did so; and the explanation of the fact is to be found in the composition of that Diet, which affords a fair sample of the way in which this dominant race distributed political influence among their subjects. The Magyar inhabitants of this duchy number about a quarter of a million, and they send *forty-six* members to the Diet; both the Szeklers and the Saxons are as numerous as the Magyars, and they were allowed to send *eighteen* members each; the Wallachians number nearly twice as many as the three other races taken together, and they were *not represented at all.*† It is not very surprising that a Diet thus constituted should take up the Magyar quarrel.

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* The famous Magyar brigand, Melandee Rozsa, presided as a brigand king over 800 brigands, who had been fighting against the Croats and other Sclavons. In the spring of 1849, coming to Pesth, he was saluted with acclamations, "Eljen Rozsa Kival!"

† Paget's *Hungary and Transylvania*, II. *p.* 247.

recte: Sándor Rozsa Király

As the course of events in Transylvania did much to determine the character and issue of the whole conflict, we translate a portion of M. de Bourgoing's account of the causes which led the Wallachians to rebel against their old masters, and of the manner in which the war was here conducted.

"The Wallachians, who are more properly called *Roumani*, were the last to take up arms; they did not determine upon this step till about the end of October; the Hungarians, they say, have only to thank Kossuth and his party for this hostility which has been fatal to them, especially in Transylvania.* Indeed, the *Roumani* of this region for a long time refused to take up the cause of the Slavonians. They would have preferred to be on good terms with the Hungarians; and for this end they asked only the recognition of their nationality, and the freedom that had been promised without distinction in the Hungarian constitution† to all the races inhabiting the kingdom. The moderate party among the Magyars were quite willing to assent to the just demands of a people who were the natural allies of their race. It was thus that Count Weszelenyi, a blind old man who sat in the Diet at Pesth, remarked in the session of the 29th of May:—'The horizon of my country is darker than the night of my eyes; our only means of safety consist in holding out a fraternal hand to the Roumani, and proposing an intimate alliance with them; for, like them, we too are isolated in the vast ocean of nations; our interests, as well as theirs, require a close alliance between us; I ask you, therefore, to pass a law that the nationality of the Roumani shall be respected.' Kossuth rejected the motion, declaring that he knew nothing either of a Roumanic or a Croatian people, and that he recognized only Hungarian citizens. All the nationalities were thus trodden under foot; and the most odious acts soon followed, and completed the exasperation of these races. It was thus that the union of Transylvania with Hungary was decreed without asking the consent of the Roumani, who form a great majority of the population of the former province; it was thus that ultra-Magyar commissioners were sent to different localities with orders to exterminate the men of capacity and education, (meaning thereby the schoolmasters and the priests, without whose direction the rude Wallachian peasants could do no harm);‡ it was thus, that in the neighborhood of the cities and villages, and even on the high-

* It should be remembered that there are nearly one million of Wallachians in Hungary proper, inhabiting that portion of it which is contiguous to Transylvania.

† M. de Bourgoing here probably refers to the resolutions passed by the Magyar Diet in April, 1848, in which there were bountiful *professions* of liberality towards the other races. Whether these were sincere or not, it is certain that the Slavonians, Germans, and Wallachians refused to trust them.

‡ "C'est ainsi que des commissaries ultra-magyars furent expédiés dans les différentes localités avec ordre d'exterminer les *intelligences roumaines* (on dónne ce nom dans toute la Transylvania aux capacités influentes du pays, c'est-à-dire aux maîtres d'école et aux prêtres.)"

ways, gibbets were erected, and on the public edifices in every part of Transylvania these words were inscribed, in the Hungarian and Roumani language: "*Union or Death.*"*

"The Roumani, driven to extremities, assembled, in the month of May, 1848, at Balasfalva, to the number of sixty thousand, presided over by their bishops of the Greek church. Images of Trajan and Aurelian, and standards bearing the letters S. P. Q. R., reminded this multitude of their ancestors. The assembly discussed the question with great order and decorum; the result of their deliberations was a solemn protest against any union of Transylvania with Hungary without the consent of the Roumanic nation. The Hungarian ministry kept on, and had recourse to rigorous measures. Everywhere they forbade the formation of the Roumanic national guard, everywhere the *men of intelligence* were imprisoned, and some, who had been thus named in derision, were hanged. Then a second meeting, after the fashion of the former Moldo-Wallachian convocation, was held at Balasfalva. In May, they had only protested against the union with Hungary; but in this second popular assembly, the Roumanic nation declared itself separated from this country, recognized the Austrian constitution, took up arms, and made common cause with the Imperial troops against the Hungarians. Whatever may be the result, the Magyars would do wrong to accuse the Roumani of rebelling against them; if they had pursued a different policy, they would probably have had all this numerous population on their side.

"Never was there a more furious war than that which ensued as soon as the Roumani took up arms. The whole nation rose—men, women, and children. The levy *en masse* was organized under the national chieftains by all the promptness of this formal insurrection, who assumed the old Latin titles of *Prefects*, *Centurions*, and *Decurions* — Many of these officers displayed the greatest intrepidity, and inspired the men under their command with the liveliest enthusiasm. The whole people, led by the desire of reconstituting their nationality, as the other races have done, are reviving the historical traditions, epic or fabulous, of the nations whose languages they have preserved. Lieutenant-Colonel Urban, who is simply a very brave Austrian officer, is represented in the popular ballads and the engravings which are distributed among the Wallachian peasants, as clothed in the costume of Trajan, with the addition of a bearskin thrown over his shoulders.— In the rude prints, also, which the Roumani hang up on the interior walls of their huts, he appears, like the heroes of antiquity, giving a feast of a hundred sheep to his soldiers. The name of the *Prefect* Franco is not less popular in Transylvania. He is a simple Wallachian peasant, who has distinguished himself by his courage, and now commands an armed multitude."

* In Hungarian, *egység vagy halal;* in Roumanic, *uniunea sau mòrtea.* These last words give the reader an idea of the great resemblance of the Roumanic language of Transylvania and the Danubian principalities, to the Latin.

We shall offer one other extract from this well-informed French writer, to corroborate a statement made in our former article, which has been faintly denied, that the Slowacks, a tribe numbering over two millions, who inhabit the north of Hungary, had, like all the Slavonic Hungarian tribes, risen in rebellion against the Magyars. Some of the Slowack *nobility,* as might have been expected, had espoused the cause of the Magyar aristocracy with whom they are allied, while the common people almost unanimously revolted against this haughty race.*

"Their insurgents were directed by a national committee, consisting of the three most popular men in the country, among whom a Slowack Lutheran clergyman, named Hurban, held the first rank.†

"It was in this district that the dominion of the Magyars had been the most heavily felt. The Slowack people were reduced to a state of bondage, from which they freed themselves as soon as this occasion was offered to them. As soon as the Imperial troops protected and encouraged the insurrection, it made rapid progress. The first act of independence of the Slowack population was to overturn and burn the gibbets which the government had set up near each village as a means of intimidation. The insurrection of the Slowacks was of a wholly different character from that which took place on the banks of the Danube. The Servians, a fierce and warlike nation, mostly armed as soldiers of the frontiers, organized from the beginning their means of attack and defence. The Slowacks, on the contrary, enervated by a long endurance of servitude, presented at first only a tumultuous body of insurgents, easy to be dispersed. It was only by degrees that the rebels of this tribe were hardened to the war.

"In this branch of the Slavonic family, generally speaking, as well as among the Czechs, the Slavonians of Turkey, the Servians, and the Bosnians, the aristocracy quitted the national cause centuries ago, in order to adopt the ideas and sentiments of the dominant race. In Bohemia, with the exception of the Kolowrath family, the two brothers Deym, the Czernins, and a single member of the family of Thun, the nobility have almost altogether Germanized themselves. In Bosnia, the families of the ancient chiefs of the nation have become Mohammedans, and occupy the posts of governors, of pachas of the fortified town, and of commanders of the numerous strong places, where the chiefs of this aristocracy, called *Spahis,* rule the country and oppress their Christian subjects. In the country of the Slowacks, the nobility, seduced of late years by the *prestige* and splendor of the rich Magyar aristocracy, and by the marked favor shown to it by the imperial fam-

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*In the Trenchin country several nobles of this kind have been murdered as traitors by the Slowack people.

† We do not know whether this Hurban, or Janecek, who is subsequently described in this extract, is the person to whom allusion is made in the Magyar Declaration of Independence:—"A Slowack clergyman with the commission of Colonel, who had fraternized at Vienna with the revolted Czechs, broke into Hungary.

ily, who studied the Magyar language, and permitted it quite recently to become exclusively the parliamentary and administrative language of the apostolical kingdom—the Slowack nobility, I say, seduced by all these causes, resigned themselves to a complete Magyarization.—This is the reason why, in the late insurrection in favor of the Slavonic nationality, the men who animated and directed the insurgent population were two Slowack Lutheran clergymen and a lawyer from the city of Presburg, in which two thirds of the inhabitants are Slowacks. These tribes of Slowack mountaineers, multitudes of whom hastened down the southern declivity of the Carpathian mountains at the call of these eloquent interpreters of the new Slavonic feeling, were afterwards organized by two Moravians and a Bohemian, all of whom had served in the Austrian army. One of these Moravians, named Zach, resided a long time at Paris, where he was favorably known by many of our countrymen. The third organizer of the Slowack militia, named Janecek, who, at the beginning of the movement, in September, 1848, had enrolled at Vienna six hundred volunteers, marched with them towards Neutra in the Slowack country; he displayed so much intelligent activity in the organization of the levies, and so much courage in the combats which immediately followed, that all the Sclavonians of Hungary surnamed him the *Second Ziska,* thus giving to this intrepid defender of their cause the name of one of the most illustrious personages in Bohemian history—of that Ziska, the Hussite chief, who, in order to prolong even beyond his death the confidence with which he inspired his soldiers, and the terror that he caused to the enemy, ordered, as the Czech and German chronicles say, that they should make out of his skin a covering for the drum of the first and bravest battalion of his army."

The bitter and implacable hostility to the Magyars of all the other Hungarian races is a fact which admits of easy explanation. Besides the extraordinary development which has been given to the instinct or prejudice of race all over Europe by the events of the last two years —or rather by the imflammatory writings and speeches, and the exaggerated national feeling of the Italian, German, Sclavonian, and Magyar liberals, which have caused these events—the long and undisputed domination of the Magyar race in Hungary, the monstrous accumulation of social and political advantages in their hands, their complete isolation from the others in blood and language, and their national pride and spirit of exclusiveness, which have been nursed and pampered to an unnatural and absurd extent by all these circumstances, have irritated the other tribes almost to madness, and produced the shocking barbarities in Transylvania and the south of Hungary which have rendered this war a disgrace to the age. The article in this number on Magyar Literature, though not written for this purpose, illustrates so strikingly the almost incredible development of this pride of race, both in

the tone of Kisfaludy's plays and in the enthusiastic reception that was given to them, that it is hardly necessary to say any thing more upon the subject. But Mr. Paget's excellent and impartial work furnishes some amusing illustrations of this trait, two of which we will borrow in acknowledgement of the justice of his remark, that "knowledge of national character may be obtained from common international jokes and stories:"

"Once upon a time, the manager of an Hungarian theatre, produced what he considered a very fine piece of scenery, in which was represented a full moon, in the form of a round, fat, clean-shaved face, which might have suited a Dutch cherub. Instead of the anticipated applause, the luckless manager found his scene received with damning hisses; and it appeared that the popular indignation was more particularly directed against the 'pale-faced moon,' 'the German moon,' as they called it. Now as the Hungarians like their moon, as well as every thing else, to be quite national, the manager determined to please them, and next night up rose the poor moon with as glorious a pair of mustaches as the fiercest Magyar amongst them could exhibit. Hurrahs burst from every mouth at sight of this reform, and all cried, 'Long live our own true Magyar moon, and confusion to all German moons for ever!" The moon had evidently been brought up at court, and had learnt the value of popular prejudices to those who know how to use them against those who hold them.

"Another tale against the poor Hungárians had its origin in the hatred they bear to the knee-breeches of the Germans. One of the Hungarian regiments, quartered during summer in the burning plains of Lombardy, was ordered by the colonel to parade in white trousers, which had just been given out, instead of the thick blue tights they had previously worn. The officers, however, found it no easy matter to induce compliance, and one excuse or another was always found for delay, till at last the colonel issued a second order, peremptorily fixing a day for the change, and threatening severe punishment for disobedience. It could no longer be put off, and the men accordingly paraded in whites; but determined not to be made comfortable in anybody's way but their own, they all wore their thick blues underneath." Vol. II., pp. 553, 554.

That these jokes may not be rejected as gross and unmeaning caricatures, we will copy some of Mr. Paget's more serious remarks.

"The pride of the Magyar, which is one of his strongest traits, leads him to look down on every other nation by which he is surrounded, with sovereign contempt. All foreigners are either *Schwab* (German,) or *Talyán* (Italian); and it is difficult to imagine the supercilious air with which the Magyar peasant pronounces these two words. As for his more immediate neighbors, it is worse still: for the most miserable *Parazst-ember* (poor-man, peasant) of Debreczen would

scorn alliance or intercourse with the richest Wallack in the country. I remember the Baroness W——telling me, that, as she was going to Debreczen some years ago with vorspann, she was accompanied by her footman, who happened to be a Wallack; and, in speaking to her, he was overheard by the Magyar coachman using that language. The peasant made no observation at the time, but, as they approached the town, he pulled up, and desired the footman to get down; assuring the lady at the same time that he meant no disrespect to her, but that it was quite impossible that he, a Magyar, should endure the disgrace of driving a Wallack into Debreczen. Entreaties and threats were alike vain; the peasant declared he would take out his horses if the footman did not get down,—which accordingly he did. The Germans are scarcely better treated: it was only the other day, when Count M——, an Austrian officer of high rank, was calling on Madame R——, that her little son happening to let fall some plaything he had in his hand, the Count applied his glass to his eye, and politely offered to find it for him. The child, however, though it could hardly speak, had already learned to hate; and in its sparing vocabulary it found the words '*blinder Schwab!*' which it launched forth with all the bitterness it could muster, in answer to the polite offer of the astonished Count." Vol. II., pp. 20, 21.

"The Magyar peasant holds the Wallacks in the most sovereign contempt. He calls them 'a people who let their shirts hang out,' from the manner in which they wear that article of clothing over the lower part of their dress; and classes them with Jews and Gipsies. Even when living in the same village, the Magyar never intermarries with the Wallack." Vol. II., p. 215.

This national feeling, when duly restrained and limited, is so natura and honorable, and so nearly akin to true patriotism or love of country, that we cannot blame it harshly. But for a tribe situated as the Magyars are in Hungary, isolated among other races more numerous than they, and over whom they have long domineered as conquerors, its indulgence is unreasonable and hazardous. Their excitable temperament, and their fondness, which betrays their Asiatic origin, for imaginative and hyperbolical forms of speech—of which Kossuth's eloquence affords such extraordinary specimens—have betrayed them into exaggerated and tumultuous manifestations of this really selfish sentiment, which, coupled with their fierce denunciations of every power that claimed to be above them, have goaded their subjects into furious rebellion, and spread far and wide, among distant nations who were ignorant of the true circumstances of the case, this general illusion that they were fighting in the cause of freedom rather than in that of oppression. On republican principles, they were right in claiming exclusive sovereignty in that region—the fairer half of Hungary proper—where they were not only the dominant, but far the most

numerous, class of the population. But their thirst for national aggrandizement led them to the endeavor to extend their rule over the districts peopled almost exclusively by the Slowacks and the Servians, where they had but little right; over Croatia and Slavonia, where they had no right at all; over Transylvania, where they formed less than one eighth of the population; and even over the Military Frontiers, where they numbered hardly one in twenty-four, where they were universally detested, and which, up to 1848, had never been subject to the Magyar Diet. The same exaggerated and encroaching sentiment induced them, after they had vindicated the respect due to their own vernacular by substituting it for the Latin and German in their own deliberative assemblies, to attempt to force it upon their subject races, in whose ears it was a hateful Babylonish jargon. It is a poor rule which will not work both ways; either they were wholly wrong in resisting Joseph II. when he resolved to make all his subjects talk German, or they were tyrannical and unjust in seeking to force the Croatians and other Slavonians to speak Magyar. Their inconsistency in this respect is the more glaring, inasmuch as their attempt to practise this oppression took place many years after their successful resistance to it; and they ought meanwhile to have profited by their own enlarged ideas of freedom and the advanced spirit of the age.

We take from Mr. Frey's book, which we have already cited, the testimony of an unwilling witness as to the fact, that the Magyars, after they had obtained all that they asked from Austria in April, 1848, still showed a disposition rather to encroach than to concede in their relations with the Sclavonians, who were then surely entitled to demand from them concessions quite as ample as those which they had just obtained for themselves from the emperor.

"Since the time when Hungary had extorted its independent ministry, [March, 1848,] the bonds that tied the Austrian monarchy together had become so fragile that the slightest touch, the least breath, threatened to dissolve them. Hungary by that act had torn herself loose from the combination formed by the other (Austrian) states; and thereby had made enemies not only of the many champions of the integrity of the Austrian dynasty, but also of the major part of the non-Magyar population of Hungary, and of the Sclavonic people of her appurtenant provinces. No wonder, then, that the Sclavonic population should have been filled with anxiety and apprehension, while Hungary *by degrees proceeded to transform itself into a specific Magyar State*,—since, by this change, they must have seen their own nationality menaced. *It is true, that the Hungarian Ministry at first did take steps which made these apprehensions seem not unfounded.*

The notion of the Ministry was, that it could make all the Hungarians one united people by *Magyarizing* them. To this end, the Latin language, hitherto employed in all official business, was abolished, and the Hungarian introduced, not only in the courts of justice, but in the schools and Diet. This proceeding excited hate and bitterness in nearly all the Sclavonic inhabitants of Hungary—who seized on this as a pretext to conceal their plans inimical to liberty under the show of alarm for their nationality."

The recent existence of feudal rights of the nobles over the peasants, and the harsh manner in which they were exercised, was one of the causes which infused into the minds of the other Hungarian races a spirit of implacable hostility to the Magyars. Mr. Paget's able and impartial work abounds with evidence upon this point. We subjoin a few extracts from his testimony, which may be taken without distrust, as he resided in the country in 1835, and published his book four years afterwards, long before the revolutionary disturbance began :

"I knew an old Countess in Transylvania who used to lament that 'times were sadly changed, peasants were no longer so respectful as they used to be;'—she could remember walking to church on the backs of the peasants, who knelt down in the mud to allow her to pass over them without soiling her shoes. She could also remember, though less partial to the recollection, a rising of the peasantry, when nothing but the kindness with which her mother had generally treated them, saved her from the cruel death which many of her neighbors met with." Vol. II., p. 215.

"The peasant-land has never been classed here, [in Transylvania] as in Hungary, according to its powers of production, nor has the size of the peasant's portion, or fief, been ever accurately determined. The amount of labor, therefore, cannot be fairly and legally proportioned to the quantity and value of the land. Nor is the amount of labor itself better regulated. In some parts of the country it is common to require two days a week; in others, and more generally, three are demanded; and some the landlord takes as much as he can possibly extract out of the half-starved creatures who live under him. Here, too, the flogging-block is in full vigor; every landlord can order any of his tenants or servants, who may displease him, twenty-five lashes on the spot, and it is generally the first resource which occurs to him in any disputes about labor or dues. But it is in the hands of the underlings, the stewards, bailiffs, inspectors—a flock of hawks which infest every Hungarian estate—that this power becomes a real scourge to the poor peasant." Vol. II., p. 314.

"Considerable talent is required to flog well, the object being to inflict the smartest pain with the least bodily injury; and, therefore, no one is allowed to perform who has not perfected himself in the art by practicing on a stuffed sack. All this is very disgusting and very sav-

age, brutalizing to the lord even more than the peasant; for the reader will scarcely believe that some of these hardy fellows laugh at such a punishment, and it is a point of honor among them to bear it without flinching. Nothing renders the young peasant so irresistible to his mistress as his heroic support of the five-and-twenty." Vol. I., pp. 384, 385.

"The frightful scenes which took place under the leadership of Hora and Kloska, two Wallacks, who, in 1784. raised the peasants of Transylvania in revolt, are still fresh in the memory of the Transylvanians, and many serve as a warning of what an injured people are capable, when expectations of redress are held out to them, and then disappointed." Vol. II., p. 312.

"The Cassa Domestica, instead of being voted by the Diet, is voted by the county meetings, and is entirely devoted to the expenses of the individual county. The amount must of course vary in each county, according to the circumstances of the time, and the necessities of different localities From this source are derived the salaries of the municipal officers, the sums necessary for the maintenance and repair of bridges and roads, the erection of public buildings, and, till the present Diet, even the payment of the members of the Diet. The administration of the Cassa Domestica is entirely in the hands of the nobles, independent of the general government: it is entirely paid by the peasants. Here I know every English reader will be ready to join with me in execrating the selfishness—the flagrant and injurious selfishness—of the Hungarian nobles, which this fact discloses. That they should refuse to contribute to the support of a government which refuses them the right of regulating the expenditure of such contributions, every constitutionalist can understand; and that those who are themselves bound to defend their country should decline to pay others to do it, is also comprehensible—of course supposing that they were capable of performing their duty; but on what plan they refuse to take a part in paying the officers chosen by themselves from their own body, whose duties in many cases regard exclusively the nobility—by what right they can pretend to force others to build houses for them to meet in, bridges for them to pass over, or roads for them to travel on, is beyond the power of any honest man to imagine. Thank Heaven! the first step towards a great change has been already made. When Count Széchény obtained from the Diet an act for building a new bridge at Pesth, and a power to make every one, noble or ignoble, pay as he passed over it, he gained as great a victory over prejudice and injustice as has been accomplished by any statesman of our day.

"Some of the most enlightened Hungarians would gladly see this principle carried out to a much greater extent; and it is not improbable that government would second them; but among many of the nobles, especially the lowest and highest, there is so great an ignorance and so strong a prejudice—on the one hand against losing what they consider their rights, and on the other against raising the peasantry to think and feel like men—that much must be done before this act of justice can be accomplished." Vol. II., pp. 75, 77.

The testimony now given shows what even these denials are worth; and if it answers no other purpose, it may prevent the repetition of any such mountebank show as that of the late "Hungarian reception," as it was called, at New York. Ardent republican feeling is a sentiment which with great difficulty brooks restraint; but some care ought to be taken that the future manifestations of it should, at least, be consistent with the reputation of our countrymen for dignity and common sense.

From the evidence now cited, it appears very clearly that the war was waged on the part of the Magyars, without even a pretence that they were fighting for the establishment of a *Republic*—a form of government which they have constantly disclaimed.

We regret that it was thought necessary, in order to create greater sympathy for the unfortunate Hungarian exiles now in this country, to put forth this unfounded and even ridiculous assertion for them, that they were martyrs in the cause of free institutions and a popular government. Nothing of the sort was needed to ensure them a kind and hospitable reception in a country which is the common refuge of political exiles of any class, and from all lands, of all those who have bravely but vainly striven for any cause, be it that of a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a republic. We welcome all to our shores with our whole hearts, and would gladly do all that is in our power to provide generously for their necessities, and to alleviate the bitterness of their exile. If, instead of attempting to offer a petty insult to the Austrian government by withdrawing from all diplomatic intercourse with it, a measure wholly unprecedented and undignified, which would have excited only the scorn of the power that it was aimed at, and the ridicule of other nations, and would have wantonly sacrificed the interests of our own citizens, and all chance of benefiting Hungary herself, a resolution had been offered in Congress for making a liberal grant of the public lands to these unhappy refugees, we believe and hope that it would have passed almost by acclamation. Now, there is room to fear, that the sympathy first excited in their favor has had time to cool, and that something of a reaction has commenced, owing to the foolish conduct of their clamorous and vaporing friends, who have endeavored to suppress or pervert the voice of history, and, by the *terrorism* of the newspaper press, the only despotic power which exists in this country, to prevent a full publication of the truth.—These persons pay a sorry compliment to the American people, by supposing that we cannot welcome to our homes the vanquished and the unfortunate till we are first satisfied of the orthodoxy of their religious and political opinions, and that they have been fighting for a

thoroughly democratic cause. Dethroned kings and banished nobles have been received here with all kindness and respect; Bonapartes and Bourbons have profited, and may profit again, by our equal-handed hospitality. Here they can meet in peace some of the very men whom, in the days of their prosperity they persecuted and banished as conspirators for freedom. The Magyar nobles may be sure of as kind a welcome here in America, as our fathers gave to the emigrant French noblesse, who fled from the Reign of Terror at Paris; and they ask for nothing more. They do not ask that their claims may be advocated on false pretences. But the Magyars in this country are persuading the public that they were republicans, and more than republicans. (pure democrats.) That they are neither republicans nor democrats, we will show from the Examiner Newspaper which has been the chief organ of the Hungarian cause in London. Some of the most active Magyars there being in correspondence with it, teach us the following doctrines:

"The most current misrepresentation of the Hungarians is, that they are *Republicans*, and that they have proclaimed the *Republic* in such of the Hungarian counties as are in their power, which now comprise almost all the Hungarian territory. This assertion is often unwarily reëchoed by friends of the Hungarians, who, considering that the Queen of England maintains amicable relations with the Republic of the United States, with the Republic of France, and the Republic of Switzerland, are not altogether horrified at the Republican appellation. But the real state of the matter is, that the Hungarians *are not Republicans*, and that the *Republic has not been proclaimed anywhere in Hungary.*

"The Magyars fight to maintain a constitution which numbers more than eight centuries of duration, and to support the sanctity of a Royal word. They have taken their position upon the inviolability of ancient liberty. Although Austrian intrigues have caused a breach of these liberties, and striven to render of no avail the royal oath sworn solemnly to maintain them, the Hungarians have not hitherto dreamed of proclaiming a Republic. In spite of all their victories, it is their wish to retain both *the Monarchy and the Dynasty.*— They do not desire to change the nature of their institutions, or to rid themselves of the ruling family."—*Examiner, May 5th,* 1849.

The eccentric Walter Savage Landor, in a letter to Lord Dudley Stuart, dated the 18th of October, 1849, and published in the Examiner newspaper, says, speaking of Kossuth:

"We plead for the Hungarian defender of venerable institutions, cognate with our own, and bearing a strong family resemblance."

In a memorial addressed to Lord John Russel and Lord Palmer-

ston, in October, 1849, which has been written by Lord Fitz-William, and signed by him and several other peers and members of Parliament, the following language is used, the object of the memorial being to ask the mediation of England in favor of Hungary :

"While so many of the nations of Europe have engaged in revolutionary movements, and have embarked in schemes of doubtful policy, and still more doubtful success, it is gratifying to the undersigned to be able to assure your lordships that the Hungarians demand nothing but the recognition of ancient rights and the stability and integrity of their ancient constitution. To your lordships it cannot be unknown that that constitution bears a striking family resemblance to that of our own country. King, Lords, and Commons are as vital parts of the Hungarian as of the British constitution."

These extracts are sufficient to show what coloring was put upon the Hungarian cause in England, in order to secure the sympathies of a people strongly attached *to Monarchical and Aristocratic institutions.* Here, in America, and even in the Senate of the United States, with a like purpose of obtaining sympathy, the Hungarians have been audaciously held up *as true and devoted Republicans.* And as if to carry out the principle of gaining the support of every foreign nation by conforming to their prejudices or illusions, a large number of Kossuth's fellow fugitives in Turkey, including that formidable free companion of the revolutionary cause throughout Europe, general Bem himself, has turned *Mohammedans.*

That the English view of the matter is the only correct one, is sufficiently evident from the fact which we before alluded to, that *Republicanism* is not even mentioned in the *Hungarian Declaration of Independence* ; and even the assertion which we have just borrowed from the Examiner, that the Magyars wished "to retain both the Monarchy and the Dynasty," is fully supported by the same Declaration.

We have said nothing to justify or palliate the policy of Austria in her relations with Hungary. Her conduct has been as good as her demands, her concessions as willingly made, during the last two years, as in any former period of her history. Even for the very liberal character of the constitution granted to all her subjects in March, 1849, we ascribe to her no more commendation and praise than what the historical necessity and truth require. Nor let any one suspect us of favoring the policy of the colossal Empire of Russia. Her troops (as it is generally known) were called into Hungary by the most earnest supplications of the republican German burghers and poor Wallachian peasants, to save their cities and villages, their wives and children from the ruthless war waged against them by the Szeklers and

Polish refugees. The divine justice excited the Russian Monarch to crush and to put down the common foes of human laws, in order to save the whole of Europe from conflagration and anarchy.

Thus the key to the whole question as to the merits of the war in Hungary is found in the unquestionable fact, that neither Russia nor Austria was an original party in the strife, which was not caused by them, but would inevitably have occurred, and have raged with equal bitterness, though probably with a different result. if these powers had never interfered in it. The principals in the war were the Magyars against the other races which inhabit Hungary with them—against the Sclavonians, Wallachians, Germans, ect., who had risen in rebellion, and were striving to shake off the yoke which this proud. gallant, and victorious race had imposed and kept upon them for centuries.

We see not what right the Magyars have to appropriate exclusively to themselves the name of Hungarians, though they are less than five millions in number, and first came into the country as intruders and conquerors in the 8th century, while they refuse to give this common appellation to the Sclavonians and Wallachians, though their population amounts to eight millions of inhabitants and who are the aboriginal and rightful possessors of the soil.

For convenient reference, we subjoin the following enumeration of the races that constitute the population of Hungary, taken from the latest and most authoritative publication of Austrian statistics—that of Haeufler. The statements of the Bohemian philologist, Safarik, and a Hungarian authority, Fenyes, though not of so recent date, do not alter the proportions:

Hungary, including Croatia and Sclavonia.

Magyars,		4,281,500
Slowacks,	2,200,000	
Russinaks,	350,000	
Servians,	740,000	
Croatians,	660,000	
Sclovanians (Styrians,)	50,000	
Bulgarians and others,	12,800	
Slavonians, total,		4,012,800
Germans,		986,000
Wallachians,		930,000
Jews,		250,000
Greeks and others,		62,500
		10,522,800

Transylvania.		
Magyars,		260,170
Szeklers,		260,000
Germans,		250,000
Wallachians,		1,287,340
Others,		60,400
		2,117,910
Military Frontiers.		
Magyars,		54,000
Croatians,	692,960	
Servians,	203,000	
Sclavonians, total,		895,860
Germans,		185,500
Wallachians,		100,000
		1,235,460
Totals for all Hungary.		
Magyars,		4,605,670
Sclavonians,		4,908,760
Germans,		1,421,500
Wallachians,		2,417,340
Szeklers,		250,000
Jews and others,		372,900
Grand total,		13,876,170

These aboriginal and rightful possessors of the soil in Hungary — the Sclavonians, Wallachians, Servians, Croatians, Dalmatians, Russniaks, Bulgarians, and in Transylvania, Germans, also Greeks and others — rose in arms, and turned with savage fury upon their tyrants, the nomadic and despotic Magyars, who had so long oppressed and insulted them, saying: "Tôt nem ember, kàsa nem étel, telega nem szeker."*

The Magyars coming to America tell us, that they fought united with their fellow neighbors: the Croatians, Dalmatians, Sclavonians, Wallachians, etc., etc., against the tyrants and despots of Austria and Russia, in order to destroy their power forever, and to establish a republic on the same ground as it is here in the United States. Now the most sincere and most active Magyars in England evidently contradict these assertions, saying:

* The Sclavonian is no man, the millet is no eating, a car of two wheels is no coach of four wheels, consequently the Sclavonians subjugated by the Magyars are not human beings, but poor animals and cattle.

"The most current misrepresentation of the Hungarians is, that they "are *Republicans*, and that they have proclaimed *the Republic* in the "Hungarian counties, which now comprise almost all the Hungarian "territory. This assertion is often unwarily reëchoed by friends of "the Hungarians, who, considering that the Queen of England main- "tains amicable relations with the Republic of the United States, with "the Republic of France and the Republic of Switzerland, are not "altogether horrified at the Republican appellation. But the real state "of the matter is, *that the Hungarians are not Republicans*, and that "*the Republic* has not been proclaimed anywhere in Hungary. The "Magyars fight to maintain a constitution, which numbers more than "eight centuries of duration, and to support *the sanctity* of a *royal* "*word*. They have taken their position upon *the inviolability of ancient* "*liberty*.* Although Austrian intrigues have caused a breach of these "liberties, the Hungarians have not *hitherto dreamed* of proclaiming *a* "*Republic*. In spite of all their victories, it is their wish to retain "both *the Monarchy and the Dynasty*." Examiner of the 5th May, 1849.

We credulous and good hearted Americans, have regarded all the Magyars, *as true Republicans, and as our Brothers*—but now we must sincerely confess, that we have wasted *our honest enthusiasm*, mistaken our men, and lavished upon demagogues, savage fanatics, or disguised supporters of despotism, the admiration which was intended for the brave, enlightened, and disinterested champions of human freedom and defenders of their country's rights.

Our errors and disappointments ought at least to teach us caution; having been so often deceived, it becomes us to scrutinize pretty sharply the credentials of all who may hereafter claim to be considered as martyrs of liberty or regenerators of free institutions in Europe. It is worth while, also, to review those cases in reference to which we have been led into error, and see what principles and motives were really active in them, and how it was that they simulated the character of contests for freedom.

The pamphlet of M. Bourgoing is very instructive for this purpose, as it is written by a former diplomatic representative of France both in Russia and Germany, who has had ample opportunity to study the internal and foreign politics of those countries; while his present position, as minister of the French republic to the Court of Madrid, is a sufficient guaranty that his sentiments, on the whole, are not anti-republican. It is temperately written, apparently without prejudice or secret bias, with the avowed purpose of lessening the fears enter-

* The ancient liberty is to whip and to excoriate the Sclavonians, Wallachians, Croats, and the other subjugated races in Hungary.

tained by his countrymen, at an anxious and gloomy period of their affairs, of a general war in Europe. It was published in the spring or summer of 1849; and events have thus far justified the writer's prediction, that, notwithstanding what was then the agitated state of the Continent, the apparent wreck of so many governments, and the number of local contests which were raging fiercely in the centre and south of Europe, there would be no general conflagration like that which was kindled by the first Revolution in France. "Therefore," he says, in conclusion, "let confidence be restored on all sides; let commerce resume its former habits, and hasten to take up again its relations with foreign countries; for a maratime war is as improbable, as impossible, as a continental one. Let a sense of security animate our manufactures, and the works which have been interrupted may be undertaken anew. France has both the will and the power, in the face of agitated and revolutionized Europe, to preserve peace, which will be more honorable and profitable to her than a long war: for without striking a blow, she will see the whole work of the Allies in 1815 disappear. Freed from all apprehensions as to our foreign relations, let us think only of the struggle against perverse doctrines which is going on at home, and seek to bring back to us all our countrymen, who have only been misled and deceived, and whose ears are still open to the language of reason added to that of fraternal conciliation."

These words being a sufficient indication of the honesty of the writer's purpose, his statements can be received without distrust.—The pamphlet itself affords proof enough of the extent and thoroughness of his information; with the affairs of Germany, including Hungary, he seems particularly conversant, his knowledge being evidently derived from a long residence in the countries of which he speaks, and from familiarity with the languages of the several tribes that inhabit them. "I have the advantage," he says, "of having lived many years among those Germans and Sclavonians who are now so lamentably hostile to each other, and of having quitted them hardly five months ago; of having travelled through the various countries which the war has recently desolated; of having become personally acquainted, in the course of a rather long military and diplomatic career in this part of Europe, with all the men who govern, with many of those who command or negotiate, and even with some of those who speak and write, and thus calm or agitate, the credulous people in all these distant lands; and of thus being able, from all these causes united, to speak from certain knowledge."

With these grounds of assurance that he is a safe guide, we shall

make free use of the information he gives as to the present state of Europe, the character of the political changes which have recently taken place in it, and the motives of the combatants in the several contests which have lately disturbed its tranquillity.

The leading idea or fact, which is developed and supported in this publication, is, that the wars which broke out in Europe during the year 1848 were not founded on political or religious principle, *but were all wars of races*, in which different nationalities, speaking different languages, came in contact with each other by seeking to vindicate or preserve a superior relative position ; hence it is concluded, that they are necessarily local in character and limited in their results to parties which are actually engaged in them, affording no cause of offence to any third nation, and incapable of endangering the general peace of Europe. Every other nation, it is argued,—France, for instance,—may remain a peaceable spectator of such wars, neither her prosperity, her dignity, nor her political influence being in any manner compromised by them.

" During the year which has just elapsed, (1848,) there have broken out in Europe no less than nine very distinct wars or local collisions between twenty-three states or nations, speaking seventeen different languages. One strange fact explains and influences all these events: The several families of dialects, or stem-languages, become hostile to each other, and tend to constitute independent nationalities. So novel a movement certainly deserves to be studied, and the moment when we begin to understand its causes, is favorable for attempting an enumeration of them.

" In the numerous wars and contests of 1848, the Germans appear in the first rank. Thus, we have had, 1. The war of the Germans against the Danes, for whom the Swedes, the Norwegians, and even the Russians, have been on the point of entering into the lists ; then of the Germans against the Poles ; 2. of Posen ; 3. of Cracovia, and 4. of Galicia, the capital of which has been bombarded—three successive wars between the Poles and the Germans ;—5. of these same Germans against the Bohemians, two nations which have been allied together for eight centuries, but which, in the month of June, entered into furious conflicts with each other at Prague ;—6. of the Neapolitans against the Sicilians ;—7. of the Austrians against the Piedmontese, with whom the people of Lombardy, Tuscany, and Rome have taken sides :—8. of the Hungarians against the Croatians and the Servians, who were helped, in 1848, by the regular armies of Austria, as well as by the insurrections and the volunteer and partisan corps of the Slowacks, the Russniaks of Gallicia, and the Wallachians and the Saxons of Transylvania, the last of whom, in 1849, drew the Russians into a contest which caused blood to be shed by all the Sclavonic tribes without exception ;—and lastly, 9. the national movement of

the Moldavians and Wallachians, which produced, at Bucharest, a sanguinary conflict with the Turks.

"In addition to nine wars, more or less prolonged, this rivalry of a wholly novel character, the rivalry of languages and nationalities, with its more or less direct consequences, has been on the very point of exciting three other armed collisions between five different nations, to wit: Between the Irish and the English; between the Germans and the Dutch, on account of Luxemburg; and even between the Germans and Swiss, to whom a menacing manifesto has been addressed. I might add, that the Greeks of Cephalonia and the other Ionian islands have also made a demonstration in favor of their nationality; and that the Montenegrins, coming from the borders of the Adriatic to fight in the provinces of the Danube, have shown that the Sclavonic mind is in agitation even in the southern region of Dalmatia.

"This principle of the division of nationalities by their languages thus appears to be in truth the ruling political idea of our times; I will even say, that the excessive and fanatical extension of a rule so difficult to be applied, is one of the political manias of the day; for whoever takes the feeling of humanity for a guide, has a right to stigmatize as insanity every unreasonable exaggeration which causes a great effusion of blood. It is evident, however, that other powerful causes have been united with these questions of race and language.—In Ireland, for instance, the difference of religion, and the comparison which is daily made of the wealth of the conquering race with the misery of the conquered people, keep up this animosity of the two nations, to which the difference of language contributes comparatively little. In other countries, the radical party in politics have taken up this means of speedy and far-reaching agitation as an instrument for the furtherance of their own designs. Community of language subjects a whole nationality to the exciting influence of a journal, a popular harangue, or a patriotic hymn; as soon as it is admitted that a common language forms an indissoluble bond among those who use it, or that it ought to serve as such a bond, it becomes the principal vehicle of the schemes of disorder and rebellion which may be inculcated from a distance.

"If the history of the world in all ages is a uniform record of dissension and conflict, we may remark that the determining causes of war have become more and more complicated in proportion to the progress of the human mind. In the ages of barbarism, the tribes of the north rushed upon the nations of the south simply in order to dispute with them a place nearer to the sun. Soon afterwards came the wars of territorial convenience, which must be studied from a different point of view. As soon as the governments became civilized enough to have a political system, they began to fight for an alliance, for a river, for a chain of mountains, which would furnish a good strategical frontier.—Later still, after the invention of writing, it was the interpretation of treaties, acts of royal succession, testamentary injunctions, pragmatic sanctions, and the like, which set armies in motion. Religious wars

have belonged to all ages and all countries. Finally, at the close of the last century, all Europe rose in arms and formed coalitions either for or against political freedom. The war brought on by the first French revolution gave rise to many others, and eight different coalitions were successively formed to oppose a dyke to our principles of innovation coming from the west. Now, this dyke is forever broken, and the torrent has stopped only at the Niemen.

"The year 1848 first saw a wholly strange and unexpected cause of disaster, conflagration, and bloodshed suddenly start up among the nations of Europe; it beheld the rise of a subject of contention which was more subtle than the religious dogmas that produced the thirty years' war, more abstract than the political notions which kept up for twenty-three years the conflict between the armies of liberty and those of the counter-revolution. In truth, it is only about ten years since the nations who are now waging war upon each other in Denmark or in Lombardy, on the banks of the Danube or at the foot of Etna, first thought of regarding a difference of language, or even, as we see in Sicily, a faint difference between two dialects, as a legitimate cause of implacable hostility. It is also proper to say, that Germany, after having effectually contributed, by its philological labors, to awaken the instinct of race and arm the different nationalities against each other, has not been able in every case to reconcile the projects of its ambition with the consequences of its theories. The same principle which it defends in Sleswick, it combats in Poland and in Italy. Hence arise lamentable dissensions and inconsistencies; hence, also, the reign of violence coming after a movement which would have merited our sympathies, if it had not too often strayed from the paths of moderation and equity."

The bond of a common language is weakened in many cases by great differences of dialects; and the tie of a common though very remote origin would not be strongly felt,—its influence, in fact, would be hardly perceptible,—if it did not flatter the national pride, and often come in aid of that desire of national aggrandizement which is a common sentiment among all nations, and exists as strongly in the body of the people as in the hearts of their rulers. It is a feeling which simulates true patriotism, though only remotely allied to it; it assumes a brave garb, uses high-sounding words, and publishes valiant and virtuous manifestoes, though its root is in ambition and selfishness. A native of one of the smaller States of Italy or Germany, aware of the political insignificance of his government, and conscious, perhaps, of the social degradation of his countrymen, may be pardoned for dreaming of a union with all who are of the same lineage and speak the same tongue, as the only practicable means of elevating his nation in the eyes of Europe, and acquiring for them substantial dignity and influence. His sense of present humiliation will more readily seek

relief in the idea of a grand alliance with others, than in the difficult enterprise of reforming the political institutions of his own State, and improving the social condition of its inhabitants. It was because this latter enterprise seemed hopeless, or at best, remote and difficult of accomplishment, that the cry for a United Italy, and a United Germany, has become so popular. The enthusiasm of the Germans in this cause was fostered by, and perhaps derived its origin from, their united and successful efforts in the glorious War of Liberation, as it was termed, when they broke the chains of Napoleon. Arndt's famous song,

Where is the German fatherland?

and other patriotic odes, contributed not a little to fan the flame.

In Italy, the desire for political union, far more than for the downfall of monarchy, has always been the leading idea of its patriots. The regeneration of the country in their eyes depended on breaking down the barriers between its several States, and acquiring for it a political *status* as one of the great powers of the continent. It was a natural wish on their part, but not one which presents any peculiar claim for sympathy from other nations. Either as Americans or republicans, we do not feel called upon to admire or respect a movement which looks first to national aggrandizement, without any direct reference to the improvement of the social or political condition of the people. Tuscany has been a highly favored state, enjoying a mild and beneficent government; it is by no means sure that the welfare of its people would be increased by its junction with Lombardy, Piedmont, and the other States of the peninsula, under the rule of such a sovereign as Charles Albert. This, it must be confessed, is taking a very practical view of the matter; but we have no patience with that sort of sentimental enthusiasm, of patriotism run mad, which, without any reference to immediate utility, can be gratified only at the expense of a revolution and a bloody civil war. Italy never has been united since the days of the Roman empire; and the most glorious period of its subsequent history is that when it was divided into a multitude of flourishing commercial republics. That Genoa, Pisa, Florence, and Venice were almost constantly at war with each other in the days of their prosperity and renown, was a misfortune of the times—an effect of the imperfect civilization of the Middle Ages—not a necessary result of their separate existence as independent states. If thus divided and constituted at the present day, there would be no difficulty in maintaining peaceful relations between them. Florence, under the Medici, achieved the mingled glories of literature, wealth, arts, and arms, not only without political union with other portions of the

peninsula, but in spite of frequent wars with them; if her present state is less glorious and prosperous, it is not from the want of such union, but from the character of its inhabitants and the altered circumstances of the times.

Germany could not hope to effect any other object through the union of her several states, which may not be acquired under the present arrangement, except that of having a more potential voice in the settlement of the affairs of Europe. The Customs-Union is a league just as effective for all commercial purposes as a complete political fusion under one government would be; and the present condition of the country has the advantage of preserving for each independent state those habits and peculiarities of legislation and administration which from long use are best adapted to it, and most popular. The great evil of the existing system in Austria and Prussia, even the smaller states not being exempt from it, is excessive centralization, the paternal care of the government being evinced by treating the whole body of the people as little children, who are incapable of thinking or acting for themselves. There are very few local authorities appointed by their immediate constituents, and responsible to them alone; all appointments originate at the capital, and the affairs of every little village are directed by power emanating immediately from the head of the state. The government is not so much tyrannical as bureaucratical. The systematic and pedantic turn of the German mind enhances the evil; their civil polity is nothing but pædagogy.—A fusion of all their governments into one would produce a monstrous system, whether of a monarchical or a republican class; individual action would be stifled under it, and no executive power could be so skilfully constituted as to be able to meet all the demands upon its care and attention. Germany is less prepared than any country in the world to try such an experiment as was made by France in 1789; to abrogate all its existing institutions, and begin the work of constituting society and government entirely anew. The lack of practical talent, and of ingenuity in meeting or providing for new emergencies, is an imperative reason for travelling, as far as possible, in the old beaten paths.

In former days, the great object was to make the political divisions of the continent correspond, as far as possible, with its natural divisions by great rivers and chains of mountains. Every country claimed what it called its *natural boundaries*, but always with a secret reference to the enlargement of its own territory. Thus France demanded the Rhine as its natural frontier; while Russia put forward her pretensions against Sweden to the whole eastern coast of the Baltic.—

The war of the Spanish Succession took place to prevent Louis XIV. from fulfilling his boast, that there were no longer any Pyrenees.— While one country alleged its natural right to those limits which seemed to have been established for it by the conformation of the earth, others opposed its claim on the ground that to allow it would be to destroy the balance of power in Europe. The principle itself, it was argued, was an inconvenient one, and if pressed to its full extent, wholly impracticable. Applied in every case, it would be necessary to parcel outthe continent anew, and to establish new states inconvenient in form and heterogeneous in their population. If the rule be urged in all its strictness, there are no natural boundaries except where a peninsula is cut off from the main land by a chain of mountains,—a description which applies only to Italy, Spain, and the Scandinavian peninsula ; and its application in these cases would deprive Portugal, the smaller states of Italy, and Norway of their independence. The last, indeed, has lost hers, having vainly protested against her union with Sweden.

But whatever inconveniences could be alleged against the principle of division by the natural features of the earth, still graver objections can be urged against the rule founded on the consanguinity of the people and the affinities of language. The races which have peopled Europe have not kept together, and have not always preserved their purity of blood. In many countries, their descendants are so mingled together that any separation of them at the present time is impossible. Hungary, Switzerland, the shores of the Rhine, the Netherlands, are peopled by a conglomerate of races, speaking a multitude of languages. Offshoots of the great German family are established in Denmark, Russia, and even among the mountains of remote Transylvania. The population of France is, perhaps, as homogeneous as that of any country in Europe ; yet Balbi has divided them, according to the dialects which they use, into four great families,—the Gallic, the Germanic, the Celtic, and the Basque. When the cards have thus been shuffled, how idle it is to dream that they can be dealt off in such a manner as to bring together all which are of the same suit! The question also arises, what shall be considered as constituting diversity of race and language. The original banian stock sends off branches at widely distant epochs, each of which subsequently takes independent root in the soil, and beholds its own progeny multiply around it.— If we go back to the origin of the great Indo-European stock, the population of more than half the countries of Europe may claim to be of the same blood, and ask to be constituted into one great nation. If we seek a common ancestry at a less remote period, a doubt arises

whether the Portuguese are to be classed with the Spaniards, or the Sicilians with the Tuscans. If *panslavism* is made to include Russians, Servians, Poles, and Wends, *pangermanism* may claim the Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and Dutch, as well as the inhabitants of Germany proper. And it is quite as difficult to tell what coustitutes a distinct language as to designate those who belong to the same race. If all the dialects and various forms of *patois* are taken into the account, Europe has nearly as many languages as it has cities; if dialectic varieties are disregarded, there are but about half a dozen different tongues spoken on the Continent. Hence, when wars break out in which these questions of language and race are concerned, it is difficult to get at the merits of the case, or to ascertain which party is in the right.

"In ordinary cases, the contests of one nation with another, the complication of events, the principles and the passions which are involved, may be easily understood and followed out into their developments and consequences. A common knowledge of geography and history is enough to enable one to understand the origin and progress of the dispute, the point in question, and the movements of the belligerent parties. The will of Charles II., the pragmatic sanction of Charles VI., and the declaration of Pilnitz, show clearly what caused the war of the Spanish Succession, the Seven Years' war, and that of the French Revolution. But in order to have a clear conception of what is passing at this moment from one end of Europe to another, one must be well versed not only in geography and history, but also in the study of some living languages which very few persons know any thing about. It is a contest of languages, which, after it had been confined for a long time to the academies and universities, is now breaking the general peace of Europe.

"To cite only a few examples among so many, how can we understand the connection of events which have just taken place in the Austrian empire, unless we bravely undertake to seek the origin of them in a Hungarian dictionary, or a Croatian grammar? How, without having an intimate knowledge of Germany, can we explain why the Germans of the liberal or republican party in the assembly at Frankfort sympathized with the splendid and warlike Magyars, while the (German) Saxons of the colonies which have been established, some for four, and others for seven, centuries, in the heart of Transylvania, united with their neighbors, the Wallachians, in order to make common cause with the Croatians? Finally, without a special course of study for the purpose, can we fairly appreciate the unjust quarrel which has arisen between powerful Germany and the inoffensive monarchy of Denmark? There is something wholly unprecedented in the situation of this little country, which, though reckoning hardly 2,200,000 inhabitants, a third part of whom have made

common cause with its enemies, has been able to defend its cause very logically in its diplomatic notes, and afterwards very heroically, both by land and sea, against a nation of 40,000,000 souls. The war of Sleswick, also, for more than one reason, ought to be interesting to France; for the only state that remained faithful to us at the epoch of our reverses was that Denmark, whose brave soldiers, during the year 1848, defended the entrance of their Cimbric Chersonesus against the armies and the partisan corps which came towards Sleswick Holstein from every part of Germany. This strange war gives us mournful proof of what may be effected by erudition towards perplexing the simplest questions. The Danes and the Germans, these descendants of the Cimbri and the Teutones, before coming into a bloody conflict about it, had long disputed whether the population of Sleswick contained more Germans then Danes. It was a question of figures, which it would seem that statistics might easily answer; and yet, up to this day, they have not been able to agree about it. It is certain, however, that the Danish population is the more numerous, though the Germans have brought into the computation, on their own side, the 27,000 Frisians established on the western coast of Sleswick. But let them submit this particular point of dispute to German and Danish arbitrators, and it will be demonstrated to them, that a Frisian peasant or sailor understands neither the Danish of Copenhagen, nor the German of Hanover and Berlin."

Here in America, it is some consolation for us to know, that if we have not rightly understood the progress of events in the Old World during the last two years, and have often had the mortification of finding out that we had bestowed our sympathies on the wrong side, the diplomatists of Europe, who were not acquainted with as many languages as Cardiual Mezzofanti, or had not the philogical skill of a Scaliger or an Adelung, have been equally at fault, and have committed quite as gross blunders. Our mistakes arose from jumpiug too hastily to the conclusion, that a revolution in a monarchy necessarily tend ed to the establishment of a republic; and that, of two parties in a war, the one which had the misfortune to obtain the assistance either of Austria or Russia was unquestionably in the wrong. And truly, in this grand *imbroglio* of races and languages, this Babel of war-cries for Panslavism, Magyarism, United Germany, and Italy "one and indivisible," one might be pardoned for adopting any rule, however rashly formed, which would lead to some decision upon the merits of the case, without obliging us to investigate thoroughly all the details and complications of the affair. An attempt made by a detached portion of one of the great races of Europe, which had long been established in the midst of those who were alien to it in blood and language, to vindicate its nationality and resume a connection with its parent stock, appears

both natural and just, and may command our unthinking sympathy and respect. But it becomes evident on a little consideration, in view of the wide and long continued dispersion of these races, that a general reunion of them could not be effected without universal confusion and bloodshed. The plan is impracticable, and it is difficult to see what practical good would result from it, even if it could be carried out. We may be pardoned, therefore, for viewing with some suspicion and dislike the conduct of agitators who have recently kindled the flames of war in many parts of the continent under the pretence of uniting those who had been long and unjustly separated, though they also claim to be fighting the battles of political freedem and national independence. The truth is, they have used this cry for a union of races merely as a convenient means of popular agitation, with a view to the establishment of a republic, which the body of the people either dreaded or cared little about, or in order simply to overthrow the existing government and to profit by the confusion and anarchy which would then ensue.

A great change has taken place in Europe since the commencement of the present century, as to the dominant principle of popular movements and political crises. The material interests of a people, their means of acquiring wealth and comfort, the more or less equal distribution of that wealth, and their general well-being, have become objects of so great importance in their eyes, that all proposed changes in society and government are judged solely by their probable effects in this one direction. Men now coolly count the cost, the comparative value in dollars and cents, of a monarchy and a republic. Statesmen have been obliged to make the study of politics second to that of political economy. Monarchs strive to guard their thrones, not so much by the number and efficiency of their standing armies, as by the prudent management of their finances, and by their successful development of the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing resources of their people. They build railroads, form Customs-Unions to relieve trade of its fetters, establish colonies to get rid of surplus population, and thus aim to acquire or regain a firm basis for that authority which formerly rested only on prescription and military force. The idea of political freedom, of choosing their own governors and managing their own affairs, is no longer attractive enough to lead the people, if it be not united with some project for a new organization of society and a more equal enjoyment of the goods of this life. Hence the rise of so many schemes of socialism and communism to cheer on the multitude whose enthusiasm could no longer be excited by the mere name of a republic, and whom no acts of insult or oppression on the part of their

rulers had goaded into rebellion. The idea of political crusades for the establishment of one form of government or another, of the propagandism of free or despotic institutions, was stretched to the utmost, and exhausted, in the wars of the first French Revolution and the Holy Alliance. The revolution of 1830 was the triumph of the *bourgeoisie*, the establishment in power of the middle classes, of bankers, manufacturers, tradesmen, and master mechanics. The outbreak of February, 1848, was a revolt of the indigent classes, the proletaries, against the *bourgoeisie;* and the result showed, in France at least, the great numerical inferiority of the former, who owed their temporary success solely to their recklessness, to the fact that they had nothing to lose.— But they abused their victory till they had goaded their opponents into the display of equal bravery and decision, and were crushed by them in the insurrection of June, when the National Guard fought with the energy of despair, or as men always will fight, when they know that their property and their homes are at stake.

We need not stop to inquire what the result of the revolutions of 1848 in Europe might have been, had not the commencement of them in France been so immediately ruinous to the material prosperity of the country. As it was, the experiment in Paris was decisive for the whole continent. There, republicanism was associated with commercial distress and bankruptcy, with the disorder of the national finances, the suffering of the laboring classes and a general feeling of insecurity among the holders of property.* The Belgians, the Germans, and the Italians were scared from the repetition of an undertaking so disastrous. Those who had hitherto been foremost in inculcating revolutionary doctrines now strove to quench the enthusiasm they had excited. The Germans at Heidelberg, on the 26th of March, under the guidance of the most popular leaders of the liberal party, solemnly adopted the example of England and a monarchical polity. "Do not," said Welcker, one of their ablest orators and statesmen, "do not mistake license for liberty, nor suppose that, because much must be remodelled, all must be overturned. Let us advance, but steadily and thoughtfully; let us lay the foundation of our freedom, a national parliament; let us be citizens of one united country; *but do not think such an object can be attained by proclaiming a republic.*" He was heard with applause, and his advice was adopted by acclamation.— The king of the Belgians wisely and magnanimously offered to leave the throne and the kingdom, if his people were tired of royalty; but

* The same occurred in Hungary! The confusion and distress which were caused by the Revolution cannot be sufficiently described.

they refused his proffered abdication, and drove back with spirit the insane hand of French propagandists whom Ledru Rollin had sent across the frontier. Milan and Venice elected Charles Albert to be their king, after they had expelled the Austrians. The Sicilians offered the throne of their island to a son of the same monarch before their former sovereign again reduced them to subjection. The Magyars did not repudiate their emperor till their own subjects, who had been their patient vassals of eight centuries, repudiated them; and then they declared the throne vacant only because Ferdinand had taken part with the *rebels*.

To keep up the revolutionary movement, then, it was necessary to find some object of desire, some principle of excitement, to take the place of a hatred of royalty; and this was supplied by the project of a union of all the branches of each nationality, and the consequent establishment of greater national power made up of more homogeneous materials. No matter if the separation had been so long continued, and the changes of dialect had become so great, that the people themselves were hardly conscious of their relationship. It was easy to teach them that they had a common ancestry, and that they spoke what was formerly one language. How long the instinct or prejudice of race may continue, when fostered by an unequal distribution of political influence and by an obstinate adherence of each tribe to its ancestral language, is shown by the mutual jealousy and hostility of the French and English in Canada down to the present day. That these hostile feelings, however, may be made to disappear under the soothing influence of a government which all are equally interested in maintaining, is proved by our own rapid success in assimilating with our own stock the Spaniards and French who first peopled Florida and Louisiana. But if either race is led to assume an antagonistic position towards the other, through an inequality of political or social advantages, the alienation in blood and language constantly aggravates the evil, as it perpetually reminds one party of its subjection and the other of its superiority. The marks of race become irritating badges of distinctions that are assumed to be unjust because they are ineffaceable, no degree of personal merit or ability being competent to get rid of them. If these distinctions have existed for a long period of time without contest, habit may have so inured the people to them, that they may not disturb the public tranquillity. Still they exist as latent causes of dissension, which an expert agitator at any time may call into dangerous activity. And if other events should throw the country into commotion, or light up in it the flames of civil war, these hereditary motives of hostility will soon be awakened to aggravate the feud, and

render it perpetual. A few years ago, the suffering poor of Ireland were probably ignorant, for the most part, of the fact, that the English were aliens to them in blood; O'Connell reminded them of it, and now the natural enmity of the Saxon and the Celt tends more strongly, perhaps, than all other causes united to keep up the chronic diseases of that unhappy population. The case of the Sclavonians and Wallachians in Hungary against the Magyars is a still more striking instance of the bitter hostility that may be suddenly excited in this manner, the consequences of which will affect the politics of eastern Europe for centuries to come.

Before looking more particularly at this case, however, let us glance at the results of the movement in Germany, the object of which was to unite the several branches and determine the extent of the German nationality. The provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, whose annexation to France is of comparatively recent date, still have the German element predominant in their population; and some of the orators and publicists at Frankfort did not hesitate, on this account, to express a wish that they might be again united to their fatherland. But France was a power not to be lightly provoked, and the people of these provinces, whether French or German, manifested no desire for a change; therefore, no steps were taken towards the fulfilment of this project. The remarks of M. de Bourgoing upon this subject are very sensible; and as the advice which he gives is not wholly inapplicable to the opinions entertained by many on this side of the Atlantic, we will translate a portion of them for the benefit of our readers.

"Those who now ask for a cession of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, no longer express the feelings of hatred and vengeance which animated the allies of 1815, when they proposed to take away from us this part of our territory, and to restrict our frontier to the line of the Vosges mountains. They now simply declare, that the several nationalities throughout Europe ought to be reconstituted, and that every people ought to obey a sovereign of their own race, and laws written in their own language. One of the most distinguished diplomatists of Germany, Baron d'Arnim, lately said to me, 'If it is true, as one of your writers has maintained, that the style is the man, the language ought to constitute the nation.' According to the same system, it is added, that the unity of Italy ought to be established, and that it must finally triumph over all the obstacles which now prevent it.

"But in our sincere and benevolent impartiality, we think every nation ought to be allowed to judge for itself, so far as its own interests are concerned, this great question of our day, the question of national unity. It is for the Italians themselves to decide, whether their wishes for the establishment of a common country are very unanimous and very strong. Thus far, the unitarian principle, a powerful auxiliary of

anarchical radicalism, has produced in this country only the disasters of the Piedmontese army, so worthy of a better fate, the misfortunes of Tuscany, the ruin, the despair, of the capital of the Christian world, and finally, in place of *union*, the danger of a *separation* of Sicily; hitherto, these have been, in Italy, the only consequences of the foolish doctrine of nationalities classified by their languages.

"'The Sclavonian unity' continue these political philologists, 'for which we have already found a word, *panslavism*, is making rapid advances towards its accomplishment. German unity is establishing itself at this moment, with some difficulty it is true, but time is needed for all things; sooner or later, it will crush the obstacles that now hinder its progress. Scandinavian unity also gives signs of life. The principle of this reconstruction of states according to the races which people them exists in the nature of things; it is inevitable.'

"We acknowledge that, in certain cases, this principle admits of a just application. We shall applaud what in it is reasonable and possible, we shall blame what is unjust, and we must be permitted to doubt what is exaggerated and chimerical. That the various nations should endeavor to enfranchise themselves, and to form groups and alliances, according to their convenience and their affinities of race, is an attempt in which our country may well feel some interest, provided that this sympathy does not lead us to lavish on other lands its finances and the blood of its children, in order to help the cause of foreigners, without having any thing to gain by it, not even gratitude. It is not fitting that a government which professes, above all others, to be the defender and the representative of the interests and rights of the people, should send off an army to take sides in a quarrel which is purely Hungarian, German, or Italian. The error of the partisans of this new system, of the classification of races, evidently consists in transforming into an absolute principle a rule, which, as good sense and experience clearly show, can be applied only with numerous limitations. Undoubtedly, a people enslaved and trodden under foot by a foreign race have a right to endeavor to regain their independence;* but when the fraction of a nationality finds on the territory of another people its equal rights firmly guarantied, and is treated with sentiments of real fraternity, it would be a criminal and insane act to seek to entice it into a separation. A certain number of these attempts at separation are entitled at least to our sympathy and sincere good wishes; others ought to be boldly censured, either as premature designs, or as romantic extravagances."

If judged by the standard that is here laid down, we cannot avoid censuring almost the first act of the German *Unitarian* party. To make the limits of their united country as wide as possible, and to secure an important maritime position on the Elbe, and near the mouth of the Baltic, they committed a flagrant aggression on the rights of

* This has been done by the Sclavonians, Wallachians, and other races in Hungary.

Denmark. The preliminary parliament assembled at Frankfort, at the end of March, voted unanimously, that Sleswick and Holstein should be invited to send deputies to the grand parliament which was to follow, as if both these duchies incontestibly belonged to the German confederation. One of them, Holstein, unquestionably did belong to it, though subject to the king of Denmark as Duke of Sleswick Holstein; the other, Sleswick, is as unquestionably a fief of the crown of Denmark, and its only connection with Germany rests on its alleged inseparable union with Holstein. The population of the duchy in dispute being composed in about equal proportion of Germans and Danes, the principle of division by races affords no solution of the problem; nay, it was the encroaching spirit of the liberal *Unitarian* Germans, or the ambition of Prussia, which was the sole cause of the difficulty. The Danes supported the claims of their government with much spirit. A public meeting, held at Copenhagen on the twentieth of March, passed resolutions declaring that the proposed union of the Duchies with Germany would be a "dereliction of the rights of the Danish crown over Sleswick, to which the king has no right to submit, nor can the Danish nation ever assent to it;" and that the people would assist the king with all the means in their power to enable him to fulfil his duties as a sovereign, and to maintain the integrity of his territory. It was evident that the people, and not merely the governments, on both sides were arrayed against each other, and that the mutual jealousy of the two races was the primary cause of the quarrel. Both parties disclaimed republicanism, both offered free and liberal constitutions to the countries in dispute. The war was commenced by a Prussian army, which, on the sixth of April, invaded the territory with the avowed object of driving the Danes out of it, and annexing it to Germany. The Danes defended themselves with great gallantry and various success for several months, when it appeared that they were overmatched, and both Sweden and Russia actively interfered in their behalf. An armistice was then concluded, August 26th, which in fact determined nothing, but caused the temporary withdrawal both of the Danish and the German federal troops, and allowed the war-wasted country time for repose. Within a few months, the war has broken out anew; but as Germany has now lost her high-raised hopes of a fusion of all her states into one, it is not likely to be of long duration.*

The next outbreak caused by the new principle of a division of

* This prophecy of M. Bourgoing is punctually realized.

races took place in that part of unhappy, dismembered Poland, which had been annexed to Prussia. The Grand Duchy of Posen, as this part is called, has a population of about 1,200,000, of whom about two thirds are Poles, and the remainder are Germans. The low social condition of the former, the great bulk of whom, at the time of their annexation, were in a state of prædial slavery, and were "as ignorant and brutalized as can well be imagined," caused them to be treated as a depressed and inferior race by the Germans, and a smothered feeling of irritation and hostility had, consequently, long existed between the two races. After the revolution of March had taken place at Berlin, a deputation of Poles came thither and obtained a promise from the king that the Duchy should be divided into two portions, the one Polish and the other German, each of which should have a separate local administration. Their countrymen, also, who had been imprisoned for political offences, were liberated ; and one of these, Mieroslawski, a noted agitator, was carried about the streets by them in a sort of triumphal procession. Some delay occurred in the fulfilment of the king's promise, which afforded a sufficient pretence for a revolt, that broke out in April. All the Poles rose in arms, and turned with savage fury upon their German neighbors, who had so long oppressed and insulted them. This conduct provoked retaliation, and atrocities were committed on both sides that would have disgraced our North American Indians. Mieroslawski led the army of his insurgent countrymen, and fought several indecisive battles with the Prussians. The latter at length poured an overwhelming force into the province ; and after a desperate struggle, the Poles were compelled to surrender, and their leaders were imprisoned or sent out of the country. The promised division of the territory between the two races then took place, care being taken, of course, to bring all the strong and important places, the city of Posen itself included, into the German district, and to leave very few Germans under the jurisdiction of the Poles, though many of the latter remained under their old masters.— And the division itself was made only for the purposes of the local administration ; the whole province continued to form part of the Prussian dominions. Favorably as the line had been drawn for the dominant race, and by the Prussian government too, who were most interested in preserving the ascendency of the bulk of their subjects in this quarter, the parliament of *united* Germany was still jealous lest the interest of the Father-land had not been sufficiently cared for.— They would only provisionally acknowledge the boundary line, and they passed a resolution, "That the National Assembly express to the Prussian Government a confident expectation, that the nationality

of the Germans in the Polish part of Posen will be protected under every circumstance."

These two instances, the war in Sleswick and that in Posen, show that the newly awakened spirit of German unity and nationality is no more regardful of the rights of other races, no less ambitious and encroaching in its policy, and no more favorable to the establishment of free institutions throughout Europe, than the several despotic sovereigns of Germany were during the flourishing days of the Holy Alliance. There was a party of republicans among the German Unionists; but these were so factious and turbulent, that the Central Government repressed them, once and again, with a strong hand.—The democrat leaders, Hecker and Struve, collected a large body of insurgents, who were defeated by the troops of the General Diet on the 20th of April, Struve being made prisoner, while his associate fled to Basle. A still more formidable insurrection of the radicals took place in Frankfort, on the 20th of September in the same year, when the Prince Lichnowski, one of the most eloquent members of the Diet, and Major Auerswald, were murdered. Barricades were erected in the streets, a deputation who went to parley with the insurgents were fired at, and the revolt was not subdued till artillery was brought into action, and many lives were lost. These disturbances, of course, increased the general dislike and fear of republicanism, as they showed that the people were not prepared for it, and that it was necessary to increase rather than to diminish the restrictive power of government. German patriotism was consequently limited to the single object of uniting the several states of Germany into one, or at least, of binding them together into a closer confederacy than had yet been established. Subsequent events have proved that even this project cannot be accomplished; and the only effect of the prolonged agitation for this purpose has been to excite the national feeling of rival races, and to cause a great effusion of blood in local and profitless contests.

But the most lamentable consequences of stirring up this rivalry of different nationalities, have been displayed in Hungary; and as we have already sufficiently reviewed them, we are hastening to the close of our task. We will finally, but earnestly, repeat what we have already said: it was only the restless and domineering spirit of the untitled Magyar nobility, aggressive and fiery in temperament, and panting not so much for absolute independence as for entire control of the more patient, industrious, and unambitious races, Sclavonians, Germans, Wallachians, &c., by whom they are surrounded, which kindled the recent war, and so conducted it, as to arm every one of

these races against themselves; and thus, in spite of their own matchless bravery and enthusiasm, and the misplaced sympathy of the republican party throughout Europe and America, to bring down upon their heads the united powers of Austria and Russia, and finally to sink in the unequal struggle.

Had they begun by the abrogation of the enormous and unjust privileges of their own order, and the insolent supremacy of their race; had they offered confederation and equality of political rights to Croat and Slowack, Saxon and Wallachian, their united strength might have dashed in pieces the Austrian empire, and the Russian troops would never have crossed their borders.* But they aimed to procure dissimilar and incompatible objects; to retain the economical and political advantages of a union with Austria, without submitting to any control, or tendering any equivalent; to be admitted to all the privileges enjoyed by all the hereditary states, without bearing any portion of their burdens; to vindicate their own independence against the empire, but to crush the Croatians and Wallachians for daring to claim independence of the Magyars; to "hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair," to stifle the rebellion in south Hungary; to lay waste with fire and sword the Saxon colonies in Transylvania, and then evoke the indignation of Europe against the interference of Russia, whose troops entered Hermanstadt at the urgent entreaty of these Saxon colonists, in order to save them from utter destruction by the merciless Szeklers and Magyars. By such barbarous and inhuman dealings, they had provoked too many enemies. Of the half dozen races which make up the mixed population of the Austrian empire, every one was hostile to them. Their stupid pride and indomitable obstinacy prevented them from making any attempt at reconciliation,† and Görgey, their last and ablest commander, rather than unite his troops with those of Dembinsky, who had made some concessions and promises to the Sclavonians, and thereby partially recruited his ranks from them, preferred to surrender his whole army without conditions to the generous and benevolent Russians.

Thus the Magyars have fallen, and there are few to lament their fate but the republicans of France and Germany, and the refugee Poles, who were their only foreign allies. They have fallen in an unwise attempt to preserve their ancient feudal institutions, their supremacy as a race, and their national independence against the reforms demanded by the spirit of the age, against the equality of

* They could say: "Rajta Magyar rajta: jön az ellenség a kutja fajta."

† The Magyar's Exalted Horn says: "Aut Cæsar; aut nihil."

political rights, which could no longer be refused to their ancient subjects, and against the union with Austria, which is a necessity of their geographical position. And we ought to remember, once more, that the disgraceful revolution of the Magyars had caused inexpressible evils to all the inhabitants of Hungary. By this revolution, the most precious things of the kingdom disappeared; the inestimable crown, and other *insignia regia*, have been robbed; the entire gold and silver of the nation carried away, and the money of rags, in the place of gold and silver, was substituted; but, after a very short time, it has been declared that the paper money has no value at all. "These, and other dreadful things, had plunged the whole people into the deepest misery, consternation and despair, until they were relieved by the surprising liberalities of the Emperor of Austria."

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